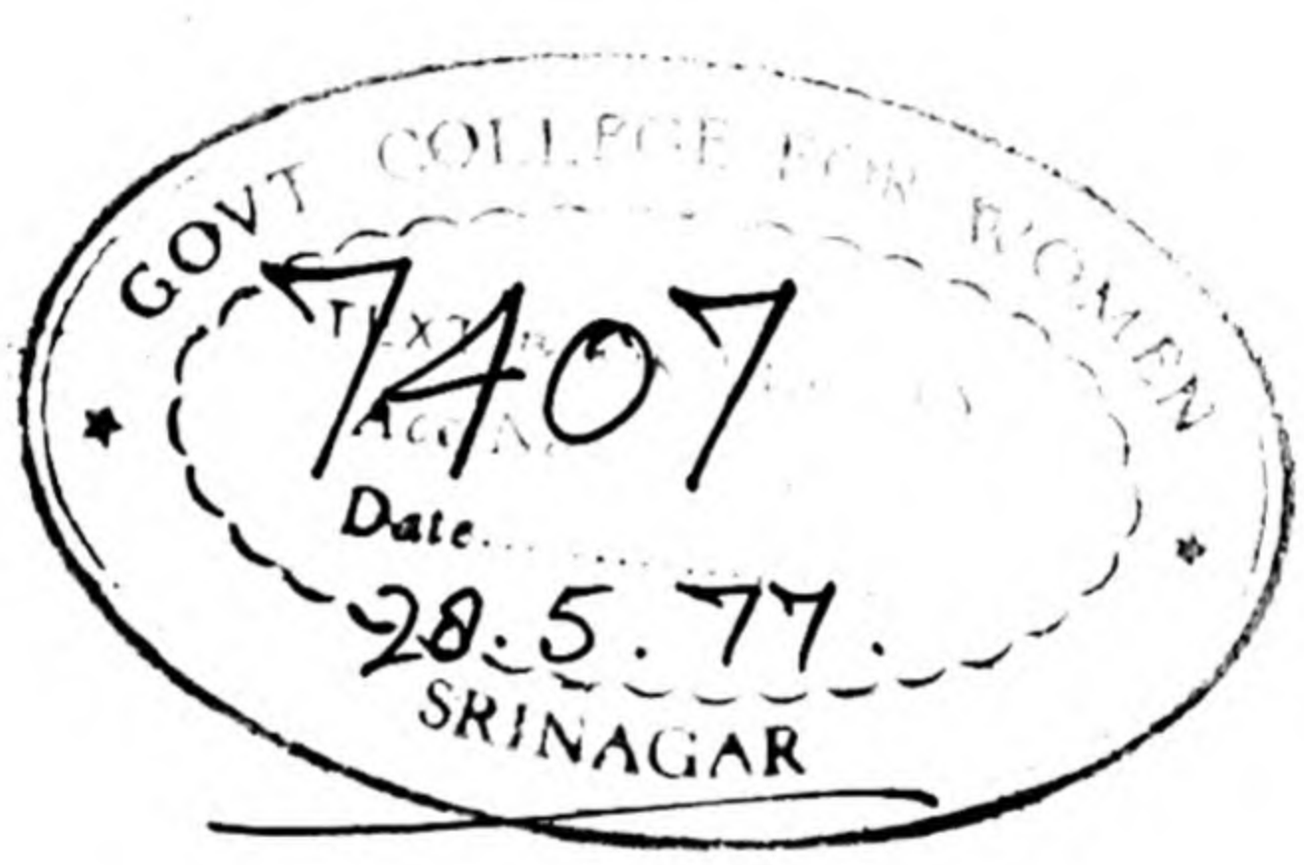
Oxford in Asia Historical Reprints from Pakistan
Adviser: Percival Spear

THE COURT AND CAMP OF RUNJEET SING


GOVT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN
Date...
28.5.77
SRINAGAR

SIKH CHIEFTAIN

THE COURT AND CAMP OF RUNJEET SING

by

THE HON. W. G. OSBORNE

with an introduction by

KHUSHWANT SINGH

OXFORD IN ASIA Historical Reprints

KARACHI
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK DELHI
1973

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London WIX 4AH

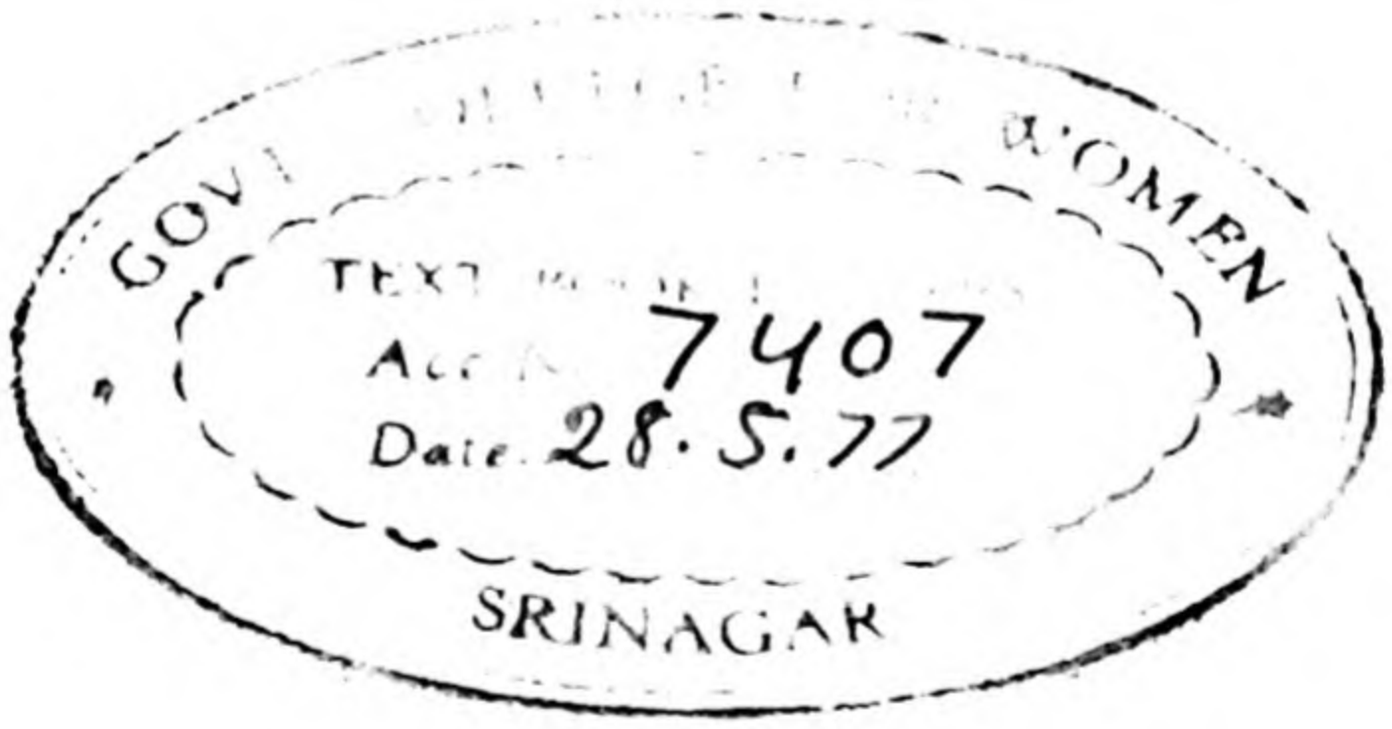
GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

P.O. Box 5093, I.I. Chundrigar Road, Karachi-2.

ISBN 0 19 577126 5

First published by Henry Colburn, London, 1840
Reprinted in Pakistan, 1973
Introduction © Khushwant Singh, 1973

Reprinted by permission of the Government of Sind under the terms of the Publication of Books Ordinance (1969)



New matter set by
Unique Printers, I.I. Chundrigar Road, Karachi
and the whole work printed by offset by
Civil and Military Press Ltd, Hassanali Effendi Road,
Karachi

INTRODUCTION

TO THE 1973 EDITION

RANJIT SINGH is one of the most colourful characters in the history of India; he is God's gift to biographers, novelists and film producers. Nevertheless no more than a dozen books have been written on him and most of them are catalogues of his military campaigns and his rough-and-ready method of administration. In none of them does Ranjit Singh come alive as the warm-hearted peasant chieftain who, though he became the King and 'Lion of the Punjab', never lost the common touch; an ugly,

little one-eyed man who liked to surround himself with beautiful women and handsome men; a lover of horses who went to war to recover a single highly prized mare (Leili); a lover of nature who as soon as the dark monsoon clouds appeared on the horizon, hurried out of the city to drink and carouse with his companions and see the downpour by a river bank; an orthodox Sikh who also worshipped at Hindu temples, paid homage at Muslim shrines and made no distinction between his subjects on grounds of religion; an unlettered man who could write only two letters of the Gurmukhi alphabet—*Sa Hi* (correct)—but was gifted with a phenomenal memory and a robust common sense which enabled him to grasp the essentials of the most intricate matters of State; above all, a kind man who forgave people who had wronged him,

rehabilitated enemies he had vanquished and who in his life of fifty-nine years never took life in cold blood.

The human side of Ranjit Singh, the man and not only the monarch, has been portrayed by some European travellers and English men and women who came with State delegations to the Punjab. The most vivid accounts are those of the young French botanist, Victor Jacquemont, Emily Eden (who accompanied her brother Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of British India) and Captain W.G. Osborne, Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

Victor Jacquemont came to Lahore when Ranjit Singh was in good health. His travels, published in two volumes as *A Journey in India* (1835), have an excellent pen-portrait of the Maharaja. The Sikh and the Frenchman took to each other.

'Jackman Sahib Bahadur' became a favourite of the Maharaja and was lavishly entertained by nautch girls and heady Punjabi liqueurs.

Jacquemont was impressed by the Maharaja's shrewdness. 'Compared to Ranjit,' he wrote, 'the most skilful of our diplomats is a complete simpleton.' How Ranjit Singh overcame the handicap of illiteracy is explained by Jacquemont. 'His conversation is like a nightmare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have seen; and his curiosity balances the apathy of the whole nation. He has asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the British, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the next, hell, paradise, the soul, God, the devil, and a myriad others of the same kind.'

•

Ranjit's success in uniting Punjabis of

diverse faiths is also explained by Jacquemont. 'He is a Sikh by profession, a sceptic in reality; every year he pays his devotion to Amritsar and, what is very singular, at the shrines of several Mohammedan saints. Yet, these pilgrimages offend none of the puritans of his own sect.'

Emily Eden and Captain Osborne met Ranjit Singh in the last years of his life when, although his health and speech were impaired and much of the fire in his single eye had been dimmed, his mind was as sharp as ever. Osborne remarked on Ranjit Singh's inquisitiveness. 'It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow, or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace,' wrote Osborne and concluded: 'the more I see of Runjeet, the more he strikes me as an extraordinary man.'

Emily Eden being a talented artist creates a lively picture of the Maharaja in *Up the Country*. 'He is exactly like an old mouse, with gray whiskers and one eye....he had two stockings on at first; which was considered an unusual circumstance; but he ver soon contrived to slip one off, that he might sit with one foot in his hand, comfortably.... His strongest passion is still for horses: one of these hit his fancy, and he forgot all his state, and ran out in the sun to feel its legs to examine it.' Emily was plied with strong Punjabi brandy 'that horrible spirit...one drop of which actually burnt the inside of my lips.' Being on the Maharaja's blind side, she was able to pour the stuff on the carpet. Ranjit was impressed by her capacity to hold her liquor and he refilled her goblet with his own hands. Emily records: 'He said he understood that there were

books which contained objections to drunkenness and he thought it better that there should be no books at all than that they should contain such foolish notions.' She concludes her account with praise: 'He has made himself a great king; he has conquered a great many powerful enemies; he is remarkably just in his government; he has disciplined a large army; he hardly ever takes away life, which is wonderful in a despot, and he is excessively beloved by his people.'

European accounts suffer from shortcomings. They did not understand Sikhism and the reasons for its transformation from a quietist Hindu sect to the militant fraternity of the Khalsa; they were confused by the rise of the *misl* confederacies and the way in which Ranjit Singh consolidated all of them except the Phulkians

(present day Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot) into the Sikh kingdom. European historians also did not avail themselves of the records of the Khalsa Darbar and the very detailed diaries maintained by the court scribes such as the *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* by Sohan Lal (English translations of which are currently being published by his great-grandson V. V. Suri). Nor did they fully gauge the depth of emotion that the name of Ranjit Singh aroused amongst his subjects. For this, one has to turn to biographies written in Gurmukhi by Baba Prem Singh of Hoti Mardan and Sita Ram Kohli.

The introduction to the first edition of *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing* was ostensibly written by Captain Osborne himself. It has a few minor errors of fact and several omissions to which the reader's attention should be drawn. Writing of the

founder of Sikhism, Osborne remarks that, 'Nanak was violently opposed by the Hindu zealots, but treated kindly by the Emperor Babar; to whom he was presented in the course of his travels.' There is no evidence of persecution of Nanak by Hindus; the only man who was irritated by Nanak's profession of other-worldliness was Nanak's own father, Mehta Kalu, who as a tradesman was understandably disappointed with his only son turning away from family tradition. Everywhere else, though Nanak demonstrated the folly of ritual, defied the rules of caste and was often rebuked by Pandits, he won more applause than censure. Later researches have conclusively proved that Nanak never met Babar. He probably witnessed the Mughal hordes despoiling Punjab; he wrote an elegy on the reigning Lodi dynasty throwing away their

inheritance to the dogs and the rape of India by Babar. He may as most *Janam Sakhis* (life stories) maintain, have been imprisoned for a few days by the Mughals, but the meeting with Babar can be discounted. Babar's *Memoirs* make no reference to Nanak.

Osborne further maintains that the fame of the Granth (compiled in A.D. 1604 by the fifth Guru Arjun of whom he makes no mention) 'was diffused and by degrees its votaries became a sect, distinguished by peculiar garb and manners, and living apart from the other inhabitants, in separate villages and communities, where one always presided as head over the rest.' This is not correct. At no stage did the Sikhs dress differently or live apart from the Hindus and Muslims from whom the converts were drawn. Nor is he right in ascribing

the transformation of the Sikhs from pacificism to militarism to Gobind Singh, the last Guru of the Sikhs. It was following the death in prison of the fifth Guru Arjun in 1606 that Arjun's son Hargobind raised an army and began to be styled by his followers as *miri pir da malik*—Lord of the Worlds Spiritual and Temporal.

Osborne also erred in accepting the prevalent version of the manner in which Ranjit Singh acquired Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. The city was not bestowed on Ranjit Singh by Shah Shujah in return for guns salvaged for the Afghan by the Sikh as is stated by most historians who take their material from Afghan sources. Ranjit Singh captured Lahore first and told the Afghan envoy in categorical terms: 'We took the country by the sword and will preserve it by the sword.' The guns were

returned afterwards and it was Shah Shujah who tried to win over Ranjit Singh's support by 'conferring' the Subedari of Lahore on him.

The way in which the Maharaja came by the *Koh-i-noor* in 1813 has been the subject of several monographs which establish beyond doubt that the diamond had been promised to Ranjit Singh by Wafa Begam wife of Shah Shujah if he would rescue her husband from the fortress in in Kashmir where he was confined. Ranjit Singh fulfilled his part of the agreement at considerable cost in terms of lives lost and insisted that Wafa Begam or Shah Shujah fulfil theirs. It was when the two began to prevaricate that Ranjit Singh put them under house arrest, reduced the rations supplied to their household and so compelled them to hand over the *Koh-i-noor*.

As stated earlier, these errors are of no great historical importance. What is missing is the explanation of how a man to whom the gods had been so niggardly with their gifts and who had been reared in an atmosphere corrupt enough to turn a saint into Satan was able to overcome these shortcomings and propel himself to triumph as the first Indian in a thousand years to turn the tide of invasions from the north-west back into the homelands of the traditional conquerors of India and become the only Punjabi monarch of the Punjab.

Historians who treat Sikhism as a form of Protestant Hinduism also try to account for Ranjit Singh's spectacular achievements by pointing to his singular genius. A broader view of Sikh history will show that Sikhism was in fact the rise and fulfilment of Punjabi nationalism. Ranjit Singh's

genius lay in his power to harness this nationalist upsurge by bringing his people, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, under his banner and give them a state of their own. It is no mere coincidence that in the crowning successes of Punjabi arms, the men who represented him were drawn from all the three communities. Sikh Generals, Hari Singh Nalwa and Akali Phula Singh, defeated the Afghans in the north-west frontier. In the victory parade in Kabul a few months after Ranjit Singh's death, the man who carried Ranjit Singh's colours was a Punjabi Mussalman, Colonel Shaikh Bassawan. And it was a Dogra Hindu, General Zorawar Singh, who a year later planted the Darbar flag across the Himalayas in Tibet.

Ranjit Singh became the favourite subject of many anecdotes. We are not sure of

their authenticity, but they are important in so far as they illustrate the attitude of his peoples towards him. The most popular of them is his dialogue with his Muslim wife Bibi Mohran (none of the Muslim or Hindu women in his harem were asked to convert to Sikhism) which illustrates his rise to power. 'Where were you when God was bestowing looks ?' asked the lady referring to her consort's extremely plain appearance. Ranjit Singh replied: 'When you were begging for good looks, I was seeking power.'

His respect for all faiths is well illustrated by another anecdote. It is said that a calligraphist who had spent the best part of his life preparing a copy of the Koran came to Lahore after having failed to sell his work to the Muslim chiefs of India. Ranjit Singh paid a fabulous price for the

work. When Fakir Azizuddin praised him for his broadmindedness, the Maharaja replied: 'God wanted me to look upon all religions with one eye, that is why he took away the light from the other.'

It is meet that we should also know what Ranjit Singh thought of his own achievements. Major H.M. Lawrence in his *Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab* quotes him as follows: 'My kingdom is a great kingdom: it was small, it is now large; it was scattered, broken and divided; it is now consolidated; it must increase in prosperity, and descend undivided to my posterity. The maxims of Taimur have guided me; what he professed and ordered I have done. By counsel and providence, combined with valour, I have regulated and consolidated my government. I have rewarded the bold, and encouraged merit wherever it was to be found: on the

field of battle, I exalted the valiant; with my troops I have shared all dangers, all fatigues. Both on the field and in the cabinet I shut partiality from my soul, and closed my eyes to personal comfort; with the robe of empire, I put on the mantle of care; I fed faqirs and holy men, and gained their prayers; the guilty as the innocent I spared; and those whose hands were raised against myself have met my clemency; *Sri Purakhji* (God) has therefore been merciful to his servant, and increased his power, so that his territory now extends to to the borders of China and the limits of the Afghans, with all Multan, and the rich possessions beyond the Sutlej.'

KHUSHWANT SINGH

Bombay, 1973

THE

COURT AND CAMP

OF

RUNJEET SING.

BY

THE HON. W. G. OSBORNE,

MILITARY SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF AUCKLAND,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH

OF THE

ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE SIHK STATE.

Illustrated with Sixteen Engravings.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1840.

PREFACE.

THE Supreme Government of India having determined upon sending a mission to the court of Lahore, for the purpose of endeavouring to place our alliance with Runjeet Sing on a more secure and decided footing than had hitherto been the case, in May, 1838, the following gentlemen left Simla, in company with several of the Maharajah's chief officers, who had been sent to escort them to Adeenanuggur, where his High-

ness was then passing the hot weather :— Mr. W. H. McNaghten, Political Secretary to Government ; Captain Wade, Political Agent at Loodhiana ; Hon. Captain W. G. Osborne, Military Secretary to the Governor General ; Captain G. McGregor, Aide-de-camp to the Governor General ; Dr. Drummond, Surgeon to the Governor General.

It is unnecessary to enter into any details of the object of the mission, but will be sufficient to say that it was satisfactorily brought to a conclusion by Mr. McNaghten, with his usual ability, and that the friendship of the two states has been firmly and, it is to be hoped, permanently established.

Aware of the apathy with which every-

thing connected with India is generally regarded in England, the following brief extracts from a hasty journal, written to beguile the tedium of a camp life, and without the remotest intention of publication, are offered with the utmost diffidence ; and the author will be more than satisfied if, in the present excited state of the countries beyond our north-western frontier, this imperfect description of a few weeks spent in familiar intercourse with a ruler, whom the peculiar position of his kingdom, as well as his own extraordinary character, have rendered an object of more than ordinary interest, should afford one moment's amusement to those who, blessed in the enjoyment of all the comforts of their native

land, can little guess the shifts to which their less fortunate and exiled countrymen are reduced, to pass the tedious hours of a hot and sultry day, on the burning plains of the East.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Sihk Chieftain - - - - - - Frontispiece
2. Sihk Armour - - - - - - - - - p. 49
3. Adeenanuggur - - - - - - - - - 60
4. Sher Sing - - - - - - - - - - - 64
5. Faqueer Uzeezoodeen - - - - - - 69
6. Ajeet Sing - - - - - - - - - - 70
7. Maharajah Runjeet Sing - - - - - 73
8. Dancing Girls of the Punjab - - - 85
9. Dancing Girls - - - - - - - - - 97
10. Maharajah Runjeet Sing, on Horseback 109
11. The Burying Faqueer - - - - - - 124
12. The Shalimar Gardens, Lahore - - - 140
13. Akalees - - - - - - - - - - - 144
14. Mounted Akalee - - - - - - - - 181
15. Private Native Durbar - - - - - - 202
16. Mahomed Hussan, Shah Sooja's Vakeel - 207

INTRODUCTION.

THE attention which is bestowed upon Indian politics and history, is so rare and superficial, that there are probably many persons to whom the name of Runjeet Sing is sufficiently familiar, who are very imperfectly acquainted with his origin, and that of the nation which he ruled; it has, therefore, been thought that a brief introductory sketch of both, might serve to clear the way for, and give additional interest to, the Journal which it precedes.

The Mogul Empire which was founded by Baber in 1525, upon the ruins of the Gaurian or Affghan dynasty, reached its highest point of splendour under his grandson, Akbar, who succeeded his father Humayoon in 1555. The commencement of its decline may be dated from the death of this great prince, although the appearance of its former glory was revived by the wisdom and valour of Aurengzebe, with whose long and prosperous reign its real power may be said to have terminated. A succession of feeble and degenerate princes, destitute of civil skill or military prowess, governed by favourites, and absorbed in the luxurious indolence of the haram, produced the inevitable results of turbulence and rebellion among the nobles who were entrusted

with the command of distant provinces; to these causes of disorder was added the rise of the Mahrattas, a race of Hindoos, who threatened to retaliate upon their Mahomedan conquerors all the evils which they had suffered from the ancestors of the latter.

Aurengzebe died in 1707, and after the throne had been occupied by four different princes in the space of thirteen years, Mahomed Shah was proclaimed King. The weakness of Mahomed's administration was soon felt in the provinces, which became a general scene of anarchy and civil contest, availing themselves of which, the Mahrattas, who had already reduced Malwa and Guzerat, and continued to make endless encroachments, marched towards the capital. The pusillanimous Mahomed was induced to

deliver himself from these formidable invaders, and to purchase peace, by the payment of the chout, or one-fourth of his revenues. But he was scarcely delivered from this danger, when a more dreadful storm burst upon the unhappy and misgoverned empire. The celebrated Nadir Shah, who had raised himself from an humble condition to the throne of Persia, and who had made his name terrible by his victories and conquests, turned his thoughts towards the invasion of India, an enterprise far more splendid than any which he had yet undertaken. India had been often overrun by the hardy warriors of the North; and in its present condition, its wealth was inviting to the cupidity, while its weakness offered an easy prey to the ambition, of an invader.

Having found pretexts sufficiently plau-

sible, and not altogether groundless, for breaking off the relations of amity which he had previously expressed his desire to maintain with the Indian monarch, he began his march in 1738. His progress was rapid and successful, almost all the governors of the principal provinces, deprecating the wrath of the invader by a prompt submission; having defeated the Imperial army, Nadir advanced to Delhi, upon which devoted city he levied enormous contributions, after commanding a massacre of the inhabitants, in the midst of a tumult which he had vainly endeavoured to prevent. The march of Nadir from India was encumbered with spoil; the amount of his plunder, including the treasures and regalia of the Imperial palace, has been variously estimated, from thirty to seventy millions ster-

ling. Of this the most remarkable object was the peacock-throne of the Emperor of Delhi ornamented with precious stones of every description, among which the most splendid was the famous diamond, called the "Koh-i-noor," or mountain of light.

Having exacted as the condition of peace the cession of all the provinces on the west of the Indus, he replaced Mahomed on his degraded throne, and on the 14th of April, 1739, began his march from Delhi, of which he had been in possession thirty-seven days. Nadir survived his Indian expedition about eight years, during the last five of which, his nature underwent such a fearful change, and his cruelty became so intolerable, that a conspiracy was at length formed by some of the principal

officers of his court, who having learnt that they were marked out for his destined victims, to save themselves, resolved upon, and accomplished his destruction.

In the confusion which followed upon the death of Nadir, Ahmed Khan, one of the bravest of his officers, got possession of a part of his treasure, with which he escaped into Khorassan; there he made himself master of a large sum of money which was coming from India for Nadir, proclaimed himself king, and after a slight opposition was crowned at Candahar, assuming the title of King of the Affghans. The warlike and independent people over whom Ahmed now established his sovereignty, had never been united under a native king, and from the love of equality which was conspicuous in their character, they were not likely to

view without jealousy the sudden exaltation of one of their own nation.

He took great pains therefore, to secure the affections of his own tribe, by confirming them in the possession of their lands, distributing the great offices among them, and leaving the hereditary chiefs in possession of their privileges; but it was upon the effect of foreign conquests that he chiefly relied for the consolidation of his power at home. He trusted that successful wars would throw a lustre round his name, and afford him the means of attaching the Affghan chiefs by favours and rewards, and that the manifestation of those military virtues which he really possessed, would impress all ranks with respect, and conciliale the affections of the soldiers to his person. The experience and discipline ac-

quired in the Persian wars had rendered his Dooraunees the best troops in Asia, and the weakness of the Indian Empire had been exposed and increased by the contest with Nadir. Ahmed had consequently every possible inducement to make an irruption into Hindostan. When he was at Delhi, in the train of Nadir, he had been an attentive observer of the state of that court: the imbecility of Mahomed Shah, the discords and intrigues of the grandees, and the contempt into which the royal authority had fallen, did not fail to attract his notice. His first efforts in Affghanistan having been attended with the greatest success, and encouraged by what he saw and heard of the condition of affairs at Delhi, he determined upon an immediate advance on that capital.

He met, however, with such a vigorous resistance from the Vizier Kumoor-ood-deen-Khan, and after his death (which occurred while he was at prayers by a random shot from the Dooraunee artillery,) from his son, Meer Munoo, that he deemed it necessary to relinquish his design for the present, and he retired precipitately, but without molestation, across the Indus at Attuck. The Punjaub, which had been overrun in his advance, was thus again brought under the authority of the Mogul government, and the court of Delhi conferred on Meer Munoo the viceroyship of Lahore and Mooltan in acknowledgement and reward, of his important services on this occasion. The invasion of the Abdalee, and the occupation of the Imperial forces, were favourable to the progress and depre-

dations of the Sikhs, who, often chastised, but never entirely suppressed, now ventured to appear in large bodies, and Sikh plunderers scoured the country in all directions. By the vigorous measures of Meer Munoo, however, the Sikhs were compelled to fly the country, or hide their heads; proselytes to their sect and faith became rare, and the peace of the country was again restored.

The Sikhs were so called from a Sanscrit term, denoting *a disciple;* the founder of the sect was Nanac Shah, a native of a small village in the province of Lahore, where he was born in 1469. From his childhood he was inclined to devotion, and manifested an indifference to all worldly concerns. This disposition was cherished by his intercourse with Fakirs, among whom

and the poor, he distributed the greatest part of his substance. Many were his trances and visions, and severe the austerities he practised in the progress of the religious career which he undertook, with a view of reforming the worship of the true God, degraded as it had been by the idolatry of the Hindoos, and the ignorance of the Mahomedans. With this holy purpose he visited the cities of India, preaching to all ranks the great doctrines of the unity and omnipresence of God.

He professed himself the enemy of discord, and to have no object but that of reconciling the two faiths of the Mahomedans and Hindoos in one religion, which he endeavoured to do by recalling them to that great and original truth which they professed in common, and by reclaiming

them from the numerous errors into which they had fallen. Nanac was violently opposed by the Hindoo zealots, but treated kindly by the Emperor Baber, to whom he was presented in the course of his travels. He was unquestionably a man of uncommon genius, as may be inferred from the eminence he attained, and the success with which he combated the opposition which encountered him, while he laboured unremittingly to inculcate upon Hindoos and Mahomedans, that sublime principle which enjoins devotion to God, and peace towards men.

Although he left two sons, he did not deem either of them worthy to succeed to his spiritual functions, which he devolved upon a *Cshatriya*, one of *the military class*,) whom he had initiated in the mysteries of

his sect, and who was called Angad. He taught the same doctrines as Nanac, and portions of both their writings are contained in a book called "Grunth." The fame of this book was diffused, and by degrees its votaries became a sect, distinguished by peculiar garb and manners, and living apart from the other inhabitants, in separate villages and communities, where one always presided as head over the rest. Nanac was followed by nine successors in the office of chief, or patriarch of the sect, during which time the Sikhs led peaceable and inoffensive lives. The tenth and last of their spiritual leaders was called Gooroo * Govind, whose plans of ambition were very different from those of his predecessor Nanac. His dis-

* *Gooroo* was the title bestowed by a Hindoo on his religious instructor.

ciples were required to devote themselves to arms, they were divided into troops, marshalled under trusty leaders, and incited to plunder the country.

He is said to have instituted the Gooroo Mata, or State Council, by which he gave a federative form to the commonwealth of the Sikhs. Their progress and excesses at length drew down the vengeance of the Imperial Government, and after some vicissitudes of fortune, so active and incessant were the measures of extirpation pursued against them, that for a period of nearly thirty years, (up to the time of Nadir's invasion,) they were scarcely heard of. That event again drew them forth, and they once more began to infest the Punjaub; the weakness of the empire, and the confusion into which the provinces of Lahore and

Cabool were thrown by the death of Nadir, rendered the Sikhs still more bold, and their numbers having been increased by the conversion of many proselytes, who were attracted to a standard under which plunder was considered a virtue, and robbery a duty, they soon extended their ravages over the greater part of the Punjaub. The evil had spread considerably before the attention of the Viceroy of Lahore was roused to its importance, and he was induced to make an exertion for its suppression. At length, however, he took the field, and inflicted on them a severe chastisement, after which a rigorous proscription gave a check to the spirit of proselytism, and to the enthusiasm of the votaries of the Gooroo.

In 1751-2 Ahmed Shah again crossed the Indus and marched into the Punjaub;

the Vizir, Meer Munoo, sustained a defeat near the city of Lahore, and finding the fortifications of the place untenable, yielded to circumstances, and tendered his submission to the Shah. That prince was well pleased with such an issue of the campaign, and reinstated Meer Munoo as his own viceroy of Mooltan and Lahore. Upon the death of the Viceroy, which shortly after occurred, his widow assumed the government in the name of her infant son, but under a female reign little activity was shewn in suppressing the Sikh confederacy; accordingly their number and audacity daily increased, their depredations grew continually more formidable, and anarchy and confusion gained head in the province. After an interval of four years, Ahmed Shah again appeared in the field, on which

occasion he seized upon the Punjaub and Sirhind, gave the government of both provinces to his son Tymoor, and then returned to Cabool. In 1757 the Mahrattas (upon the invitation of a chief called Adeena Beg, who had thrown off the yoke of the Dooraunees,) marched into the Punjaub, from which Prince Tymoor, unable to stem the torrent, was obliged to retire.

The Mahrattas were now become the ruling power in India, and so great was the alarm of the Mahomedan Subahdars for their principalities and independence, that the reappearance of Ahmed Shah east of the Indus, was joyfully hailed by a large party in Hindostan. Upon the approach of the King, the Mahrattas fled before him, but being distressed for provisions, they offered him battle, when their

army of 80,000 veteran cavalry was almost wholly destroyed. The Court of Poonah made great exertions to retrieve this disaster, and regain the ascendancy; all the retainers of the state were summoned, and an immense army marched towards Delhi, led by the chiefs of the principal Mahratta families. On the 7th January, 1761, the final struggle took place in the battle of Paniput, the Mahratta host was routed with immense slaughter, and their power was for the moment completely annihilated.

The conqueror determined upon the permanent annexation of Lahore and Sirhind to his own dominions; but he made no stay in the Punjaub, and the governor whom he left there with a very feeble detachment, retained an imperfect hold of the territory; the Sikhs profited by the neglect

they experienced, secured strong holds in various parts, and largely augmented their resources and power. Amongst others, the ancestors of Runjeet Sing appeared early in the field, and distinguished themselves by their enterprising character. In 1762, Ahmed Shah, roused by the intelligence he received of the progress of the Sikhs, again appeared on the Indus, made one of those rapid marches for which he was celebrated, and attacked and defeated the Sikhs with great slaughter; after having made the arrangements he deemed necessary for the security of his territories east of the Indus, he returned to Cabool.

He had no sooner retired than the Sikhs again took the field, attacked Sirhind, and fought an action with the Mussulman Governor, in which the latter was de-

feated and killed; this bold enterprise recalled Ahmed Shah for the seventh time to Hindostan; his arrival was the signal for their dispersion, but he found himself unable effectually to cure the evil, and to put down the Sikhs, who as soon as he was gone, collected again, and made themselves masters of Lahore. Ahmed once more returned to punish this outrage, and the Sikhs again fled before him; but circumstances soon compelled him to march back to Cabool, after which they remained undisputed masters of the Punjaub, and occupied the country as a permanent inheritance. The Sikh chiefs had been followed to the field by relations or volunteers, and not by hired retainers; they considered themselves as partners or associates in each separate enterprise, and regarded the lands acquired

as common property, in which each had a share according to the degree in which he had contributed to the acquisition ; the associations were called Misuls, of which twelve were originally enumerated, who could bring into the field about 70,000 horse.

Of these Misuls that of Churut Sing, the ancestor of Runjeet, was one of the least considerable, but so distracted was the state of the nation, so small the authority of the Gooroo Mata or National Council, and such a spirit of intrigue and ambition prevalent among the chiefs, that a large field was open for the aggrandisement of the most able and the most daring among them. Runjeet Sing was born on the 2nd November, 1780 ; his father, Maha Sing, was an active and enterprising chief, who acquired great reputation by early feats in arms, so

much so, that many independent Sirdars attached themselves to him, and chose to follow his standard in war, and live under his countenance and protection. The continual success which attended his undertakings, together with the connections he formed, soon gave him such an ascendency, that none of the Sikh chiefs could compete with him in authority. The result of his superiority was favourable to the country, and the Punjaub enjoyed a repose and tranquillity to which it had long been a stranger.

Maha Sing died in 1792, at the early age of twenty-seven, leaving a high character for bravery, activity, and prudence, and was succeeded by his only son Runjeet, then twelve years old. Little care had been bestowed on the education of the young Rajah, whose early years were spent in

following the sports of the field, and who had never been taught to read or write in any language. On attaining the age of seventeen, Runjeet, as his father had done before him, dismissed the Deewan, and assumed the conduct of affairs. In the course of the years 1795-96-97 the Punjaub was twice exposed to invasion by Shah Zemaun, who had recently succeeded to the throne of Cabool. In 1798 the Shah advanced again, but finding it impossible to make any provision for the permanent occupation of the country, he retraced his steps to his hereditary dominions, and the Sikh Sirdars returned to the territories which they had evacuated at the Shah's approach. On the Shah's retirement, Runjeet began to entertain the design of obtaining Lahore for himself, and by an opportune

service rendered to that prince, he obtained from him a grant of the place, with permission to take possession of it.

He accomplished this object by skilful management rather than by force, and the city remained ever after in his hands. In the course of the next three or four years, his continual encroachments excited the fears and jealousy of all the Sirdars who had hitherto enjoyed independence; they perceived that it was the aim of Runjeet to reduce them to fealty and submission, yet so great were their jealousies and dissensions, that they could devise or attempt nothing to relieve themselves from his arbitrary exactions, and the forfeitures and resumptions with which he systematically visited the family of every chief that died.

About this time the deposition of the

sons of Tymoor* began to produce such distractions in the Affghan empire, that the royal authority was soon reduced to a very low ebb. Runjeet was encouraged by this state of things to direct his views westward, and in 1804 he determined to seize upon the dependencies of that empire east of the Indus. He accordingly crossed the Ravee, but at his approach several chiefs purchased security from violence and plunder by submission and presents. Relations were then established with many Mussulman families, and the chiefs as far as the Indus, beginning to see to what quarter their hopes and fears must for the future be directed, at once submitted to the ruler of Lahore, and with-

* Humayoon, Mahmood, Shah Zemaun, and Shah Shooja, the latter of whom has just been seated by British influence on the throne of Cabool.

drew from all further connection with the Court of Cabool.

Runjeet Sing continued steadily to pursue his career of occupations and usurpations on the eastern and southern banks of the Sutledj, and his authority in the Punjaub was so completely established, that it became essential to the policy of the British Government in India to enter into amicable relations with his court, and to accomplish this purpose, in the year 1808, Mr. Metcalf* was despatched to Lahore. He was received with the usual attentions, but the conduct of Runjeet was so unsatisfactory, and he evinced such a strong disposition to continue his encroachments, that it was deemed expedient to advance a body of troops under Colonel Ochterlony, to enforce the de-

* Now Sir Charles Metcalf, the Governor of Jamaica.

mands, and support the negotiation of our agent.

Runjeet soon became sensible that it would be better policy to conciliate our friendship than to provoke our enmity, and on the 25th of April, 1809, a treaty of mutual peace and friendship was concluded at Amritseer; having at length satisfied himself that the apprehensions he entertained of the designs of the Government of Calcutta were unfounded, and that the ulterior views for which he gave us credit, had no existence, he acquiesced in the connection with a zeal and cordiality which suffered no interruption during the remainder of his life. It was about this time that Runjeet commenced the formation of battalions of troops on the British model, influenced probably in great measure by the efficiency and discipline

of the British Sepoys who were with Mr. Metcalf, and of which he had himself had an opportunity of witnessing a very striking example.

In February, 1810, in the midst of operations which he was carrying on to enforce the resumption of the territorial possessions of a chief who had lately died*, news was brought him that Shah Shooja was approaching to seek refuge in his dominions, where, though received with much respect, he made at that time a very short stay. His departure left the Maharajah at liberty to pursue an enterprise against Mooltan, from which, however, he was compelled to retire, greatly exasperated at his ill success. Of the twelve original Misuls, none now remained in the Punjaub but that of Runjeet himself, and

* Jodh Sing of Vuzeerabad.

three others, all closely associated with him, and ranged under his standard: and his conduct appears to have been systematically regulated by a determination to level to a condition of vassalage every one who was in a position to assert his independence, or who was in the enjoyment of a patrimony won by his ancestors' valour.

In the beginning of 1812, the marriage of the heir-apparent, Khuruk Sing, was celebrated with great pomp at the Court of Lahore, on which occasion an invitation was sent to Colonel Ochterlony to honour the ceremony with his presence. The distinction and confidence shewn to that officer, presenting a marked contrast with the suspicious mistrust which Mr. Metcalf had formerly experienced, afforded a satisfactory proof of the change which had taken place in the

sentiments of the Maharajah towards the British Government.

In March, 1813, Shah Shooja again came to Lahore, his wife (who was already there,) having assured her husband that he would find a friend in the ruler of the Punjaub. But he had no sooner arrived, than a demand was made upon him to surrender the "Koh-i-noor," or mountain of light, a Jaghire being promised as the price of his compliance. The eagerness of the Sikh to obtain, and the reluctance of the Affghan to resign, this celebrated jewel*, (alike renowned for its magnitude and its migrations,)

* This diamond, which is said to be an inch and a half in length, and an inch wide, adorned the peacock throne at Delhi;—it was carried off by Nadir Shah, after whose death, it was seized in the plunder of Nadir's tents by Ahmed Shah, from whom it descended to his son, Shah Shooja.

appear to have been of equal intensity, but not so the power of the contending parties. The character of Runjeet, more unscrupulous than cruel, was curiously displayed in the measures he adopted to possess himself of this highly coveted prize.

No greater severity was employed, than appeared absolutely necessary to vanquish the obstinacy of the Shah, and none was omitted which promised the accomplishment of that end. The exiled family was deprived of all nourishment during two days, but when their firmness was found proof against hunger, food was supplied. It was in vain that the Shah denied that the diamond was in his possession, and having exhausted remonstrance, resorted to artifice and delay.

Runjeet was neither to be deceived, nor

diverted from his purpose, and at length Shah Shooja, wearied out by importunity and severity, and seeing that nothing else would satisfy the rapacity of Runjeet, agreed to give up the jewel. Accordingly on the 1st June, 1813, the Maharajah waited on the Shah for the purpose of the surrender.

He was received with great dignity by the prince, and both being seated, there was a solemn silence which lasted nearly an hour. Runjeet then grew impatient, and whispered an attendant to remind the Shah of the object of the meeting. No answer was returned, but the Shah made a signal with his eyes to an eunuch, who retired, and brought in a small roll, which he placed on the carpet at equal distances between the two chiefs. Runjeet ordered the roll to be unfolded, when the diamond was exhibited to

his sight. He recognised, seized it, and immediately retired.

The Shah some time afterwards purchased his release by a payment of 20,000 rupees. He was not yet, however, out of the power of his oppressor, and not long after, Runjeet being apprised that he had still left some rare and valuable jewels, he seized the most precious of them for his own use, together with all the other costly articles on which he could lay his hands. After suffering various hardships and indignities, Shah Shooja contrived to make his escape, and after some further adventures and misfortunes, placed himself under the protection of the British Government, by whom a moderate provision was assigned for his maintenance, and in this asylum he remained until recent events caused a revolution in his

favour, and seated him beyond all expectation on the throne of Cabool*.

It would greatly exceed the purpose for which this sketch was undertaken, to enter into minute details of the various military operations of the Maharajah, and of the territorial acquisitions which were their re-

* It must be satisfactory to the lovers of legitimacy, to know, that Shah Shooja is the rightful king of Cabool, and that his defeated competitor, Dost Mahomed, was not only an usurper, but has not even any blood-royal in his veins. He was one of the numerous and powerful fraternity of Affgnan chiefs, called the Barikzye brothers, by whom the sons of Tymoor were dispossessed, and among whom the Affghan kingdom was divided. After much disagreement and hostility among themselves, Dost Mahomed became the head of his family, and of the Affghan confederacy, and since the year 1823, he has been established in the virtual sovereignty of Cabool; though the legitimate right of sovereignty is vested, not in the Barikzye, but in the Suddoozye clan or family, of which Shah Shooja, the present king, is the head.

sults. In his first expedition against Cashmeer, he was defeated with some loss, and compelled to retreat; this reverse, however, was soon repaired, and in the following year the Sikh army was again in the field, ravaging, plundering, and confiscating the possessions of their neighbours. The beginning of the year 1818 was signalised by the occupation of the province of Mooltan, and the end of it by the capture of Peshawur. Early in 1819, Runjeet prepared for a second expedition against Cashmeer; in April, the Sikh army advanced to the frontier, routed the forces of Cashmeer on the 5th of July, and the conquest of that province was effected without further resistance.

The same course of petty warfare, systematic aggression, and almost constant

success, was continued for the next ten or twelve years. The desire of the Maharajah to maintain and improve his amicable relations with our Government, led to an interchange of compliments and presents with the British governors and commanders, as often as occasions presented themselves; and on the 20th of October, 1831, a meeting was arranged between Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, and the Lahore chief; and though some difficulties were at first started on the score of etiquette, these were all waived by Runjeet with a liberality indicative of the practical good sense which was his peculiar characteristic.

The interview was conducted with all the pomp and magnificence suitable to the dignity of the ruler of British India, and to the wealth and importance of the sovereign

of the Punjaub; but the details of it were little if at all different from those which have been described in the more recent meeting between Lord Auckland and the Maharajah.

A tolerably correct notion of the character of Runjeet Sing may be gathered from this sketch, and still more from the Journal which it introduces:—Brought up, but not educated, in the idleness and debauchery of a Zenana, by the pernicious influence of which it is marvellous that the stoutest mind should not be emasculated, and the acutest faculties not be irretrievably blunted, he appears from the moment he assumed the reins of government to have evinced a vigour of understanding, on which his habitual excesses, prematurely fatal as they proved to his bodily powers, produced no sensible effect.

His was one of that order of minds which seem destined by nature to win their way to distinction, and achieve greatness. His courage was of that cool and calculating sort, which courted no unnecessary danger, and shunned none which his purposes made it expedient to encounter; and he always observed a just proportion between his efforts and his objects. Gifted with an intuitive perception of character, and a comprehensive knowledge of human nature, it was by the overruling influence of a superior mind, that he contrived gradually, almost insensibly, and with little resistance, not only to reduce the proud and high-spirited chiefs of his nation to the condition of subjects, but to render them the devoted adherents of his person, and the firm supporters of his throne.

With an accurate and retentive memory, and with great fertility both of invention and resource, he was an excellent man of business, without being able to write or even to read. As insensible to remorse and pity as indisposed to cruelty and the shedding of blood, he cared neither for the happiness or the lives of others, except as far as either might be concerned in the obstruction or advancement of his projects, from the steady pursuit of which no consideration ever diverted him. His success, and especially the consolidation of his power, are in great measure attributable to the soundness of his views, and the practicable nature of his plans. He never exhausted his strength in wild and hazardous enterprises, but restraining his ambition within the limits of a reasonable probability, they were not only

so well timed and skilfully arranged as generally to ensure success, but failure, (in the rare instances when they did fail,) never seriously shook his stability, or impaired his resources.

He seems to have had a lively, fanciful, and ingenious mind, but the ceremonious forms of Indian etiquette, and the figurative and hyperbolical style of Oriental intercourse, are not favourable to the developement of social qualities. Runjeet, however, had a natural shrewdness, sprightliness, and vivacity, worthy of a more civilized and intellectual state. He was a devout believer in the doctrines, and a punctual observer of the ceremonies, of his religion. The Grunth, the sacred book of the Sikhs, was constantly read to him, and he must have

been familiar with the moral precepts it inculcated. But—

> Let observation with extensive view
> Survey mankind from China to Peru,

and the same invariable inconsistency will be found between professed belief and habitual conduct: nothing could be more different than the precepts of Nanac and the practices of Runjeet. By the former were enjoined, devotion to God, and peace towards men. The life of Runjeet was an incessant career of war and strife, and he indulged without remorse or shame in sensualities of the most revolting description. Nor did the excesses, over which he was at no pains to throw a decent veil, either detract from his dignity, or diminish the respect of his subjects; so depraved

was the taste, and so low the state of moral sentiment in the Punjaub. It is no impeachment of the sagacity of Runjeet, that he was a believer in omens and charms, in witchcraft and in spells. Such superstition only proves that early impressions were not eradicated, and that his mind did not make a miraculous spring beyond the bounds of his country and his age.

No greater proof can be afforded of his penetration than his thorough appreciation and comprehension of the character and policy of the British Government. From the moment that he allied himself with us, he appears to have cast away all doubt, jealousy, and fear, to have treated us with uniform cordiality, and have reposed with entire confidence on our friendship and support; a confidence which is now repaid by

the exercise of our influence and authority to secure to his legitimate son, and designated heir, the inheritance of the kingdom which was created by the wisdom and the valour of his father*.

* The reign of Kurruck Sing, (who mounted the throne upon the death of his father Runjeet,) has been of brief duration. For while these sheets are going through the press, intelligence has been received of a resolution in the Court of Lahore, by which Kurruck was dethroned, and his son elevated to the musnud in his stead.

THE

COURT AND CAMP

OF

RUNJEET SING.

In May, 1838, a complimentary deputation was sent by Runjeet Sing to the Governor-General at Simla, consisting of some of the most distinguished Sikh chiefs, who were received with all the honours prescribed by Oriental etiquette.

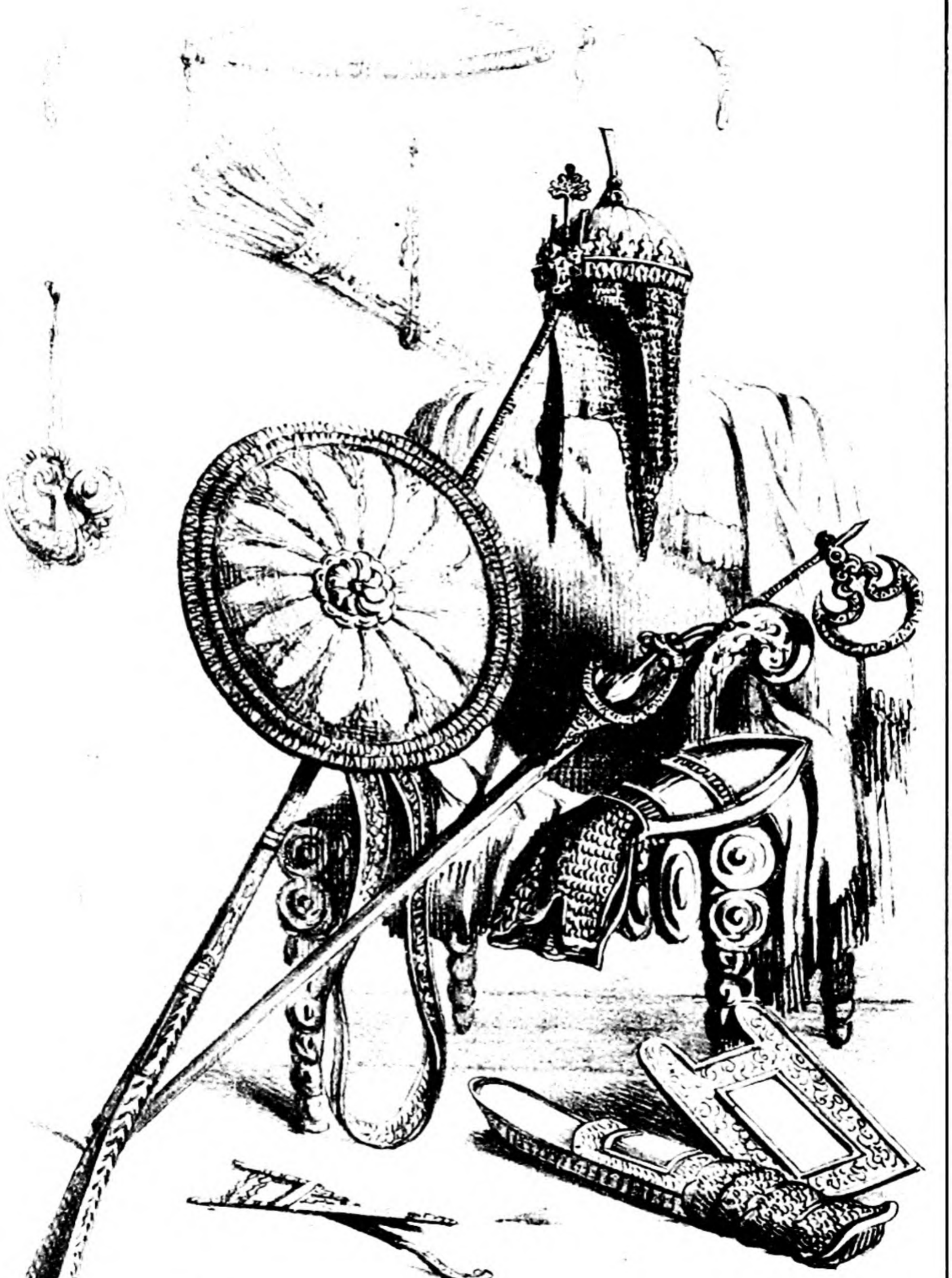
On the day of reception, the room in which the Durbar was held having been covered with scarlet linen, Lord Auckland took his seat in a large gilt chair in the

centre. Six Sikh chiefs, splendidly attired, sat on his right hand, while a group of twelve others of inferior rank squatted on the floor at a little distance. Behind the Governor-General stood his numerous officers and attendants in full uniform, while in the midst of this brilliant assembly a solemn silence prevailed. Conversation at length commenced through the medium of interpreters, and half an hour was consumed in imparting to the Governor-General satisfactory accounts of the Maharajah's health, and assurances "that the roses had bloomed in the garden of friendship, the nightingale had sung in the bowers of affection more sweetly than ever, since the two powers had approached each other."

After much interchange of civilities and

compliments, as well as of presents, the Sikh deputation took its departure, and shortly afterwards Lord Auckland resolved to send a mission to the Court of Lahore, not merely to reciprocate the compliments of the Maharajah, but to treat upon all the important interests which were involved in the existing state of political affairs in that quarter of the world. The recent attempts of the Persians on Herat, the ambiguous conduct of Dost Mahomed, and the suspicions which had been excited with respect to the proceedings and ulterior designs of Russia, rendered it of the greatest importance to cement the alliance with Runjeet Singh, and engage him to a firm and effective co-operation with us in the establishment of general tranquillity, the

resistance of foreign encroachment, and the extension of the benefits of commerce and the blessings of civilization. Accordingly, W. H. Macnaghten, Esq., was deputed on a mission to the Maharajah, accompanied by Dr. Drummond, Captain Macgregor, and the Hon. W. Osborne, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, and author of the following Journal, which he commenced immediately upon his arrival at Roopur.



SIKH ARMOUR

JOURNAL,

&c. &c.

May 19*th*, 1838.—Arrived at Rooper, accompanied by Captains Wade and M^{c} Gregor, and found our camp pitched upon the banks of the Sutlege. Mr. M^{c}Naghten and Dr. Drummond joined us in the evening.

20*th May*.—Crossed the Sutlege to our advanced camp on the opposite bank, where we were met by Sirdars Ajeet and Kurrum Sing, who conducted us to our tents, and

after making the necessary arrangements for the next morning's march, presented us with a zeafut (gift of welcome) of twelve hundred rupees* on entering the Maharajah's country, and took their leave.

21*st May*.—Commenced our march to Adeenanuggur, where Runjeet Sing is now holding his court. We were accompanied by two companies of the 20th regiment, two horse artillery guns, and a squadron of Heausay's horse as an escort.

22*nd*, 23*rd*, 24*th*, 25*th May*.—Short, hot, and uninteresting marches. The country between the Sutlege and Adeenanuggur is one continued flat and open plain, with here and there a grove of trees, and a few mud villages scattered over the surface.

* About £130.

Every village, however contemptible it may be in size and appearance, possesses a small round mud fort or turret in the centre, resembling an overgrown Martello tower, loop-holed for musketry, and the generality of them with a dry and shallow ditch, but without guns.

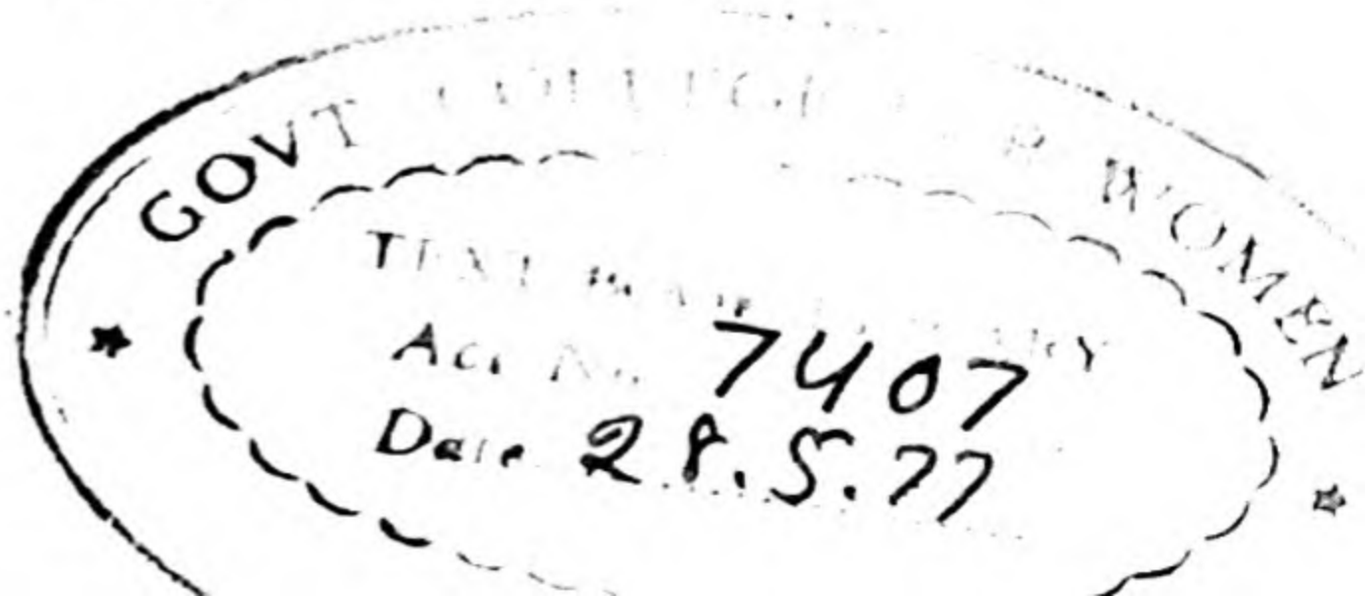
Until the last few years, since when the supremacy of Runjeet's power has been too firmly established to admit of such occurrences taking place with impunity, these little forts were constantly made the scenes of plunder and petty warfare by the different Sihk chieftains.

The soil appears to be rich and prolific, as far as it is possible to judge from the small quantity of ground under cultivation; and with a more enlightened government,

there can be little doubt of the Punjab becoming one of the richest provinces of India.

It is a melancholy thing to contemplate the future probable state of this beautiful country. On the death of Runjeet Sing, which in the common course of nature must take place in a very few years, his throne will become an object of contention between two rival candidates of equal power and pretensions,—Sher Sing, his natural son, a good and proved warrior, supported by all the influence, wealth, and talents of Runjeet Sing's present minister, Deean Sing; and Kurruck Sing, his rightful son and heir, with little talent or courage, but supported by all the Sihk chiefs whom gratitude for past favours to Runjeet, and jealousy and

hatred of his minister, would bind to the cause of his legitimate son and successor. The whole country between the Sutlege and the Indus must become the scene of a protracted and bloody war, only to be terminated by the interference of a third and stronger power, with an army and resources sufficiently strong to bid defiance to all hope of resistance, and that that army must be the British army, and that power the British government, there can be little doubt. During the lifetime of Runjeet, who, whatever may have been his real feelings towards us, has preserved all the appearances of friendship, the invasion and conquest of the Punjab would be indefensible; but at his death the case will be altered. Self-preservation requires that the government of the


GOVT
Acc No. 7407
Date 28.5.77

Punjab should be either our own or friendly to us. Friendship from a country torn to pieces by civil warfare and the rival claims of two pretenders to a throne united but in one feeling, that of hatred to the British, it would be but folly to expect. We have therefore, both looking to our own situation as regards the present policy of Russia, and to the future welfare of the country itself, but one course to pursue on Runjeet Sing's death — the instant occupation of the Punjab by an overwhelming force, and the establishment of our north-western frontier on the Indus. The East India Company have swallowed too many camels to strain at this gnat; and to judge from the appearance of the country, they will derive more nourishment from the smaller insect than

they have done from many of the larger quadrupeds they have swallowed of late years; at all events, their throats will be well oiled by the rapidly-increasing revenue consequent upon the introduction of a mild and equable form of government in a country where at present the only recognised law appears to be—

"That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."*

* Upon the death of Runjeet, Kurruck Sing was immediately acknowledged by the British government, and he is (for the present at least) seated upon the throne of his father. But there can be little doubt that he owes his peaceable accession to the predominating influence of British authority, and to the course of events which occasioned the presence of a British army on the north of the Sutlege at the moment of Runjeet's death. This alone prevented those civil commotions and rival contests which would otherwise have infallibly taken place.

26*th May*.—Two marches from Adeenanuggur. Here we met Pertaub Sing, a boy of seven years of age, son of Sher Sing, and grandson of the Maharajah. He had been sent by his father to accompany us on our march through his district. This was the first instance we noticed of Runjeet's jealousy of European influence over his chiefs. According to all precedent and custom, Sher Sing himself, and not his son, should have been sent to meet us; and the excuse for this apparent breach of etiquette was highly characteristic of the customs of the court of Lahore — namely, that the Shah Zadah Sher Sing had been a little overcome at a drinking party with the Maharajah the evening before, and was, in consequence, unable to travel.

Pertaub Sing was handsomely dressed, armed with a small ornamented shield, sword, and matchlock, all in miniature, covered with jewels, and escorted by a small party of Sihk cavalry and some guns. His horse was naturally of a white colour, but dyed with henna to a deep scarlet.

He is one of the most intelligent boys I ever met with, very good looking, with singularly large and expressive eyes. His manners are in the highest degree attractive, polished, and gentlemanlike, and totally free from all the mauvaise honte and awkwardness so generally found in European children of that age.

In the course of conversation I asked him if his matchlock was a real one, and if he ever shot with it. He jumped off his chair,

highly indignant at the question, and after rapidly loading his musket, exclaimed, "Now, what shall I shoot?" I replied that I saw nothing in the camp at present it would be safe to shoot at, and asked him if he thought he could hit a man at a hundred yards' distance; to which he replied, without a moment's hesitation, pointing to the crowd of Sihk chiefs and soldiers that surrounded the tent, "These are all your friends; but shew me an enemy to the British government, and you shall soon see what I can do."

His father is said to be dotingly fond of this boy; and when he was deputed last year by the Maharajah to escort Sir Henry Fane to the frontiers of the Punjab, took him with him; but such is Runjeet's

jealousy of Europeans, that before they had got three marches, a regiment of cavalry was sent after them, with orders from the Maharajah to bring Pertaub Sing back with them, in order that he might remain as a hostage until his father's return to the court. During the whole of our march through Sher Sing's district, all our servants, camp followers, escort, and cattle, were found in supplies at his expense.

27th May.—One march from Adeena-nuggur. Here we took leave of our young and very interesting friend, Pertaub Sing, after presenting him with a gold watch and chain as a token of remembrance on the part of the Governor General. He expressed his thanks in graceful terms, and concluded by saying, "You may tell Lord

Auckland that the British government will always find a friend in the son of Sher Sing." Then mounting his horse, covered with plumes and jewels, he gracefully raised his hand to his forehead and galloped off with his escort, curvetting and caracoling round him in circles till he was out of sight.

28*th May*.—This morning's march brought us to Adeenanuggur, the present place of residence of the Maharajah. It is a large garden with a canal running through the centre. There are also several small buildings and a moderate-sized plain palace and zenana scattered about the grounds. By means of constant irrigation, the borders and shrubs are kept always green and fresh; and here Runjeet Sing generally

ADEENANUGGUR

passes the hot weather, amusing himself with drilling and manœuvring his troops, a large body of which always accompanies him.

The garden communicates through a handsome gateway with a fine level plain. A short distance in front of it is the parade ground, between which and the gateway a small scarlet and gold embroidered shawl tent is always pitched. It is entirely open in front, and here, soon after dark, Runjeet retires to rest, sleeping in the open air, and guarded only by a few Sihk sipahis. His sword and shield are always laid by his pillow, and a horse saddled stands constantly ready in front of his tent. At sunrise the next morning he will be found mounted either on horseback or on his

elephant, inspecting his troops or superintending the practice of his artillery.

Five miles from our camp we were met by Rajah Sher Sing, and Soocket Sing, sent by the Maharajah to conduct us to our tents; they were seated upon elephants in golden howdahs, and escorted by about 500 of Runjeet's Goorcherras, or body guards, splendidly dressed in chain armour and thick quilted jackets made of rich silk, of all the colours of the rainbow.

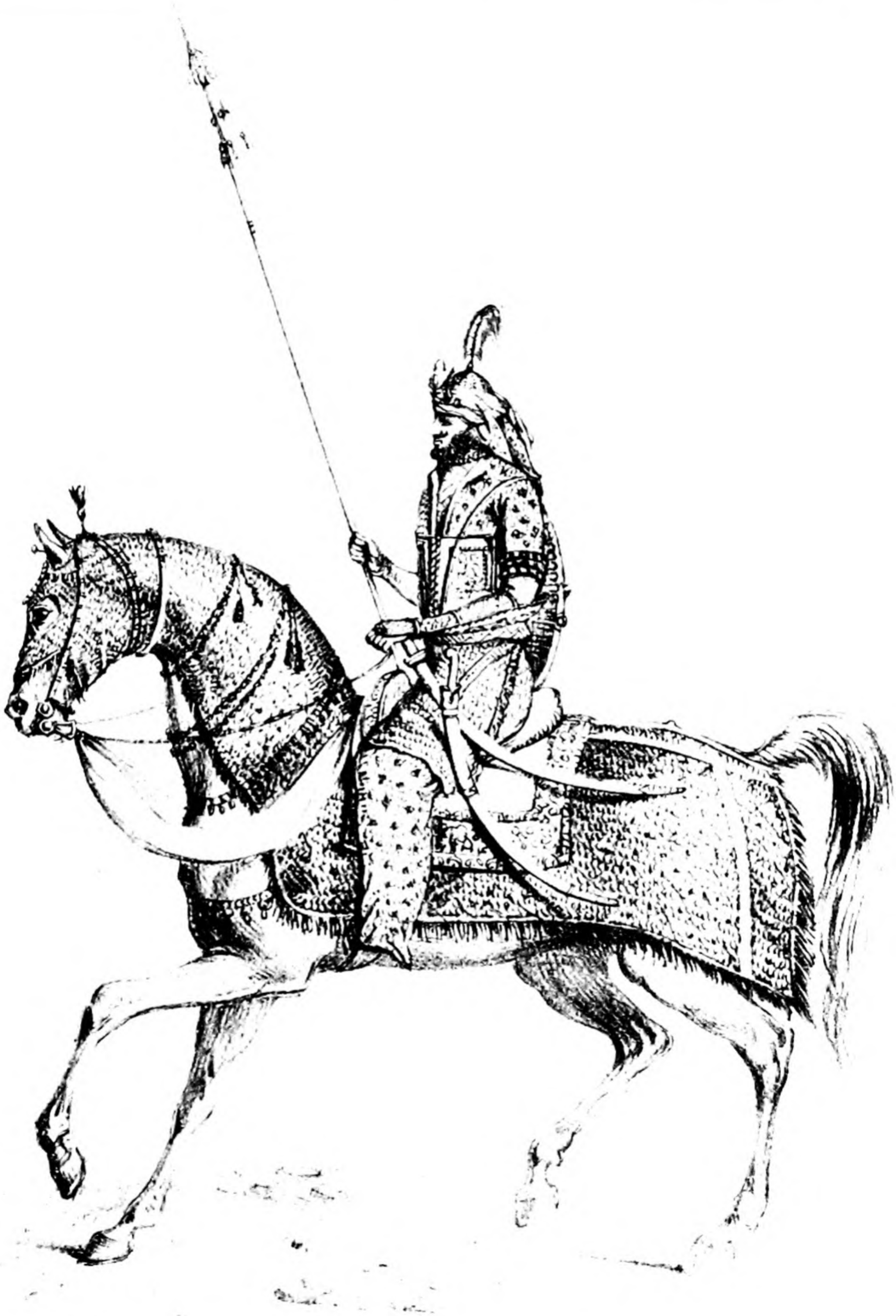
Rajah Soocket Sing, or Malek Adhel, as he was named by the ladies of Sir Henry Fane's camp, is the brother of the minister, Dheean Sing, and one of the handsomest of the Sihk chiefs, who are all eminently good-looking. He is high in Runjeet's favour, as well as much respected and admired by all the

Sihks, and about twenty-eight years of age. His dress was magnificent; a helmet or scull cap of bright polished steel inlaid with gold, and a deep fringe of chain mail, of the same material, reaching to his shoulders, three plumes of black heron's feathers waving on his crest, and three shawls of lilac, white, and scarlet, twisted very round and tight, interlaced with one another and gathered round the edge of the helmet, a chelenk of rubies and diamonds on his forehead. Back, breast-plates, and gauntlets of steel, richly embossed with gold and precious stones, worn over a rich, thick-quilted jacket of bright yellow silk, with magnificent armlets of rubies and diamonds on each arm, a shield of the polished hide of the rhinoceros, embossed and ornamented with gold, a jewelled

sabre and matchlock, with his long and glossy black beard and mustachoes, he looked the very beau ideal of a Sihk chief.

Sher Sing is also a fine, manly-looking fellow, and was richly dressed after the same fashion. He is a supposed son of the Maharajah, though the latter strongly denies the paternity.* He, however, grants him the privilege of a chair in his presence—an honour he shares with Kurruck Sing, the heir apparent to the throne, and Heera Sing,

* He is a twin son of one of Runjeet's wives, named Mehtab Koonwur, who, in 1807, (on his return to Lahore, after an absence of some duration,) presented him with two boys, Sher and Tara Sing. The lady's conjugal fidelity had been already suspected, and her husband would not own them. He appears, however, in some degree to have acknowledged Sher Sing, by the distinction with which he treated him; but Tara Sing experienced uniform neglect.



the son of the minister, the only individuals of the court who are so distinguished.

I have before adverted to Runjeet's jealousy of Europeans, and Sher Sing has, unfortunately for himself, shewn so much attention to them, and such attachment to their manners and customs, as effectually to rouse his master's vigilance; and whilst in his presence he hardly dared openly to accost us, which we all saw with much regret, as, when removed from observation, he, of all the Sihk chiefs, appeared most inclined to be on friendly and intimate terms with us. He is supposed to be in rather more than usual *mauvaise odeur* at this moment, in consequence of an occurrence which took place at this morning's Durbar. It appears that Runjeet, anxious that the de-

putation sent to meet the mission from the Governor General should do credit to his court by the splendour of their dress and appearance, ordered them all to attend him in the morning previous to their setting off to meet us. After complimenting Soocket Sing upon the beauty of his dress and jewels, he addressed Sher Sing, and asked the reason why he was without his usual magnificent ornaments; who replied, touching the hilt of his sword, "I am a soldier, and this is the only jewel I value." Runjeet angrily insisted upon knowing what had become of them, and at last elicited the truth from Sher Sing, that they were in his own treasury, having been presented to him as a nuzzur, or complimentary gift, by Sher Sing, on the occasion of his paying

him a friendly visit at his palace some months previous. Runjeet pretended to be very much annoyed, and immediately offered to restore them; but Sher Sing, soldier as he is, was much too clever and politic to accept them.

The deputation accompanied us to our tents, which were pitched in a grove of mango trees, on the banks of a canal, and only a few hundred yards from the garden where Runjeet himself was encamped.

They were received in camp by a salute from the guns of our escort, which was immediately returned from the Sihk batteries in the proportion of about a hundred guns to one; and after presenting the customary zeafut of twelve hundred rupees, took their leave, and left us with lively impressions of

the wealth and splendour of the court of Lahore.

After a bath in the canal, and breakfast, we located ourselves in sundry small buildings which had been prepared by the Maharajah's orders for our accommodation, and which, by the aid of tatties,* we contrived to make cooler than our tents had hitherto been. In each of these small buildings we found a comfortable native bedstead, with handsome silk coverlets, and mattresses, and embroidered quilts, which, with a large silken chatta or umbrella, were presented to each of us as marks of Runjeet's attention to our comforts.

In the course of the afternoon, Faqueer Uzeez-ood-deen came to inform us that

* Blinds.

FAQUEER UZEEZOODEEN

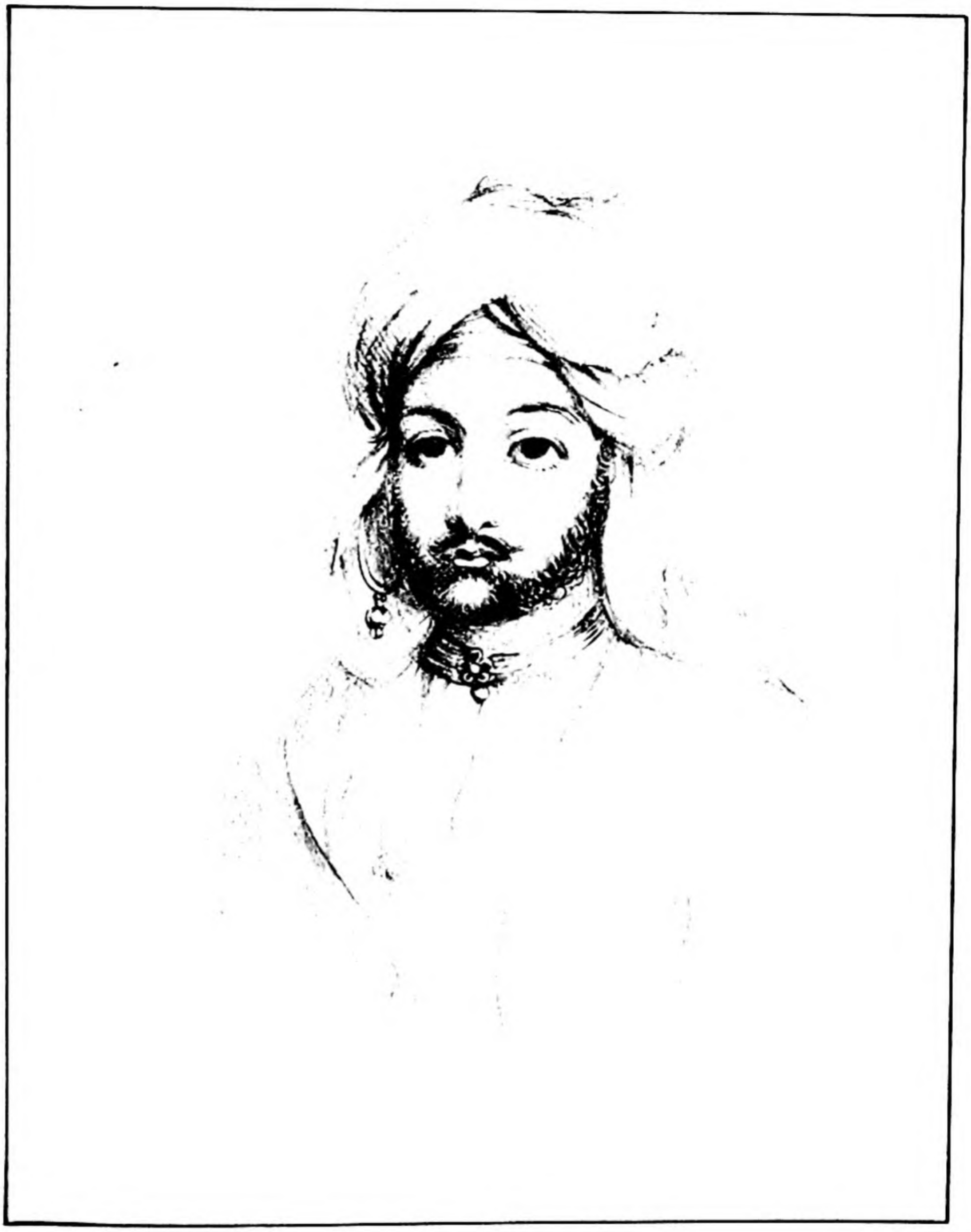
the mission would be received by the Maharajah at his Durbar on the following morning.

Uzeez-ood-deen is, with Dheean Sing, supposed to possess more influence over Runjeet Sing than any other of the Sihk chiefs. He is a fine-looking man, of about five and forty, not over clean in his person, but with a pleasant and good-humoured, though crafty-looking countenance, and his manners are so kind and unassuming that it is impossible not to like him.

In the evening, the presents from the Governor General to the Maharajah were unpacked and got ready for the morning's interview. They consisted of Lord Auckland's picture set in a star of very handsome diamonds, suspended to a string of

large pearls; a pair of gold-mounted pistols; a splendid Damascus sword in a golden scabbard, inlaid with precious stones; and two thorough-bred Cape horses, with housings and accoutrements of gold richly studded with turquoise and enamel.

29*th May*.—About seven in the morning, Rajah Soocket Sing and Sirdar Ajeet Sing arrived in camp to escort us to the presence of the Maharajah. We mounted our elephants without delay, and, accompanied by our escort and all the state we could muster, proceeded to the gate of the garden palace. We found two battalions of his disciplined infantry drawn up in front of the gateway, as a guard of honour, with some of his artillery, from whom we received a salute of upwards of a hundred



AJEET SING

guns. Dismounting from our elephants at the gateway, and entering the garden on foot, we were conducted by the two Sihk chiefs up a broad gravel walk about three hundred yards in length, lined on each side by Runjeet's Goorcherras, handsomely dressed in chain armour and quilted jackets, made of rich silk of either a bright yellow, green, or scarlet colour, giving the walk, from the gateway to the palace, the appearance of a border of gaudy and gigantic tulips. On reaching the verandah, Runjeet's minister, Dheean Sing, came forward and conducted us round the palace to the hall of audience, at the entrance of which we found the Maharajah himself in waiting to receive us. After a friendly embrace, he led us to the upper end of the hall, and

seated us on golden chairs opposite himself. Rajah Sher Sing was seated on his right hand, and Rajah Heera Sing, his minister's son, upon his left, the only two individuals who are allowed a seat in his presence on public occasions, with the exception of his son and heir, Kurruck Sing, though in private that privilege is sometimes accorded to the three Gooroos, or priests, who act as his spiritual advisers. The floor was covered with rich shawl carpets, and a gorgeous shawl canopy, embroidered with gold and precious stones, supported on golden pillars, covered three parts of the hall.

The coup d'œil was most striking; every walk in the garden was lined with troops, and the whole space behind the throne was crowded with Runjeet's chiefs, mingled with

MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SING

natives from Candahar, Caubul, and Affghanistan, blazing with gold and jewels, and dressed and armed in every conceivable variety of colour and fashion.

Cross-legged in a golden chair, dressed in simple white, wearing no ornaments but a single string of enormous pearls round the waist, and the celebrated Koh-y-nur, or mountain of light, on his arm,—(the jewel rivalled, if not surpassed, in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every now and then shot from his single eye as it wandered restlessly round the circle,)—sat the lion of Lahore.

On Runjeet's seating himself, his chiefs all squatted on the floor round his chair, with the exception of Dheean Sing, who remained standing behind his master.

Though far removed from being handsome himself, Runjeet appears to take a pride in being surrounded by good-looking people, and I believe few, if any other courts either in Europe or the East, could shew such a fine looking set of men as the principal Sihk Sirdars.

Rajah Dheean Sing is a noble specimen of the human race; rather above the usual height of natives, with a quick and intelligent eye, high handsome forehead, and acquiline features, dressed in a magnificent helmet and cuirass of polished steel, embossed with gold, a present from King Louis Philippe of France, he looked a model of manly beauty and intelligence. He is about thirty years of age, and is very high, and by all accounts justly so, in his master's confi-

dence. He is active, clever, and intelligent, possessed of great influence over the Sihk people, and in all probability will be one, and not the least powerful or deserving candidate for the throne of the Punjab on Runjeet's decease. With enormous wealth and property, and a large tract of country, which he rules with mildness and justice, he presents a singular instance of a favourite and a man in power, whose talents and virtues are more appreciated than his power and influence are envied. Gentlemanlike, manly, and unassuming in his manners, he is still cold and repulsive to Europeans, whom he both fears and hates with more than common rancour, and against whom he loses no opportunity of exerting his influence with the Maharajah.

Rajah Heera Sing, the son of the minister, a boy of eighteen years of age, is a greater favourite with Runjeet Sing than any other of his chiefs, not even excepting his father. His influence over Runjeet is extraordinary; and though acquired in a manner which in any other country would render him infamous for ever, here he is universally looked up to and respected.

He is the only individual who ever ventures to address Runjeet Sing without being spoken to, and whilst his father stands behind his master's chair, and never presumes to answer him with unclasped hands, this boy does not hesitate to interrupt and contradict him in the rudest manner. One instance of the way in which he presumes upon the kindness of Runjeet Sing was the

subject of public conversation at Adeenanuggur upon our arrival. The yearly tribute from Cachemire had arrived, and was, as usual, opened and spread upon the floor in the Durbar for the inspection of the Maharajah. It consisted of shawls, arms, jewels, &c., to the amount of upwards of thirty thousand pounds. Young Heera Sing, without the slightest hesitation, addressed Runjeet and said, "Your Highness cannot require all these things; let me have them." The answer was, "You may take them."

Heera Sing is strikingly handsome, though rather effeminate in appearance. He was magnificently dressed, and almost entirely covered from the waist upwards with strings of pearls, diamonds, emeralds,

and rubies; he is intelligent and clever, and has taken a fancy to learn English, which he studies for some hours every day, and in which he has already made considerable progress, being perhaps the only individual who would venture to do such a thing openly. Good-tempered, gentlemanlike, and amusing, he is certainly one of the most amiable and popular persons at the court of Lahore.

As soon as all were seated, and we had replied to Runjeet's inquiries after Lord Auckland's health, &c., the presents were produced, and apparently received with great satisfaction. Contrary to the usual native custom, Runjeet condescended to examine them very minutely, and appeared to count every pearl and jewel before he gave them into the hands of his treasurer.

As this was merely an audience of introduction, the object of the mission was not touched upon, and our time was principally occupied in answering Runjeet's innumerable questions, but without the slightest chance of being able to satisfy his insatiable curiosity. It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow, or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace. "Do you drink wine?" "How much?" "Did you taste the wine which I sent you yesterday?" "How much of it did you drink?" "What artillery have you brought with you?" "Have they got any shells?" "How many?" "Do you like riding on horseback?" "What country horses do you prefer?" "Are you in the army?" "Which do you like best, cavalry or

infantry?" "Does Lord Auckland drink wine?" "How many glasses?" "Does he drink it in the morning?" "What is the strength of the Company's army?" "Are they well disciplined?" &c.

He introduced one of his Sirdars to us, Llana Sing, who is a clever mechanic, and in great favour with Runjeet from his success in casting shrapnell shells, an instrument of war he has been very anxious to possess ever since his interview with Lord William Bentinck at Rooper,* where he first saw them used. They are made of pewter, and answer the purpose very well. He asked us to come and see his troops on parade, and begged we would tell him candidly what we thought of their discipline.

* In October, 1831.

After thus passing upwards of an hour in desultory conversation, Runjeet Sing rose, and, according to custom, having half smothered us with sandal-wood oil, embraced and allowed us to depart with the same ceremonies which had attended our entrance.

Ill-looking as he undoubtedly is, the countenance of Runjeet Sing cannot fail to strike every one as that of a very extraordinary man; and though at first his appearance gives rise to a disagreeable feeling almost amounting to disgust, a second look shews so much intelligence, and the restless wandering of his single fiery eye excites so much interest, that you get accustomed to his plainness, and are forced to confess that there is no common degree of intellect and

acuteness developed in his countenance, however odd and repulsive its first appearance may be.

His height is rather beneath the usual stature of the Sihks, and an habitual stoop causes him to look shorter than he really is. He is by no means firm on his legs when he attempts to walk, but all weakness disappears when he is once on horseback. He has still a slight hesitation in his speech, the consequence of a paralytic stroke about three years ago; but those about him assert that his health is much improved within the last twelvemonth. His long white beard and mustachoes give him a more venerable appearance than his actual age would lead you to expect; and at fifty-eight years of age he is still a hale and

hearty old man, though an imaginary invalid.

Runjeet Sing possesses great personal courage, a quality in which the Sihks are supposed to be generally deficient; and until the last few years, always led his troops into action himself.

His character was formerly that of a generous and liberal master, and it was his custom to go into action with his arms covered with golden bracelets, and to reward with a pair of them any act of personal courage on the part of his soldiers which might happen to meet his observation. But the vice of old age, avarice, is fast creeping upon him; and at this moment, two out of three of his regular infantry regiments at Peshowar are in a state of

open mutiny for want of their pay, one of them being eighteen, and the other twenty-two months in arrears.

With six millions sterling in his treasury at Amritsir, such is his love of money, that he will risk the loss of his kingdom rather than open his hoards, and disgusts his people and army by this ill-timed and cruel parsimony; at a time, too, when his most bitter enemies, Dost Mahommed Khan and the Afghans, are only watching for the first favourable opportunity to attempt his destruction.

In the course of the afternoon, the Maharajah's head man came by his master's orders to know if we should like to see his dancing girls, adding, that four of them who had lately arrived from Cachemire were

DANCING GIRLS OF THE PUNJAB

very handsome. Accordingly, after dinner, we repaired to a terrace on the banks of the canal, where we found eight young ladies assembled, and a display of fire-works prepared for our amusement on the opposite bank.

The four Cachemirian girls were very pretty; and one of them, Sabhoo by name, would have been thought beautiful anywhere. They were richly and gracefully dressed in scarlet and gold embroidered shawl dresses, with large and enormously loose petticoats of handsomely worked silk. Their head ornaments were singular and very becoming; their glossy black hair hanging down the back in a number of long plaits, with gold coins and small bunches of pearls suspended to the

ends, enormous strings of pearl for ear-rings, and large gold rings, with several pearls and emeralds attached to them, passed through their noses. They are very fair, with expressive countenances, and large and lovely eyes, but their beauty is much disfigured by the custom which prevails amongst all the Mogul women of covering the lower eyelid with gold leaf, which gives them a ghastly appearance.

One of these girls, called the Lotus, is rather a celebrated character at the court of Lahore. Runjeet Sing received her with the tribute from Cachemire about two years ago, when she was said to have been very beautiful. He fell violently in love with her, and fancied that his affection was as violently returned. One evening, in the

course of conversation with Monsieur Ventura, an Italian officer in his service, when the girl was dancing before them, he made some remark upon her attachment to him, which he declared was purely disinterested, and too strong to be shaken by any offers of advantage or affection she might receive from other quarters. Ventura was incredulous; and Runjeet Sing, highly indignant at this doubt of his powers of attraction, defied him to seduce her, and promised to put no obstacles in his way, further than stipulating that she should be placed in the customary seclusion of his zenana. After several polite speeches on the part of Ventura upon the impropriety of his attempting to rival his sovereign, the challenge was accepted, and the young lady immediately

transferred to the royal seraglio, with every precaution to ensure her safety.

" Shakspeare described the sex in Desdemona
As very fair, but yet suspect in fame ;
And to this day, from Venice to Verona,
Such matters may be probably the same."

They are so in the Punjab most certainly, for scarce had eight-and-forty hours elapsed ere the hoary old lion of Lahore was aroused from his happy dreams of love and affection by the intelligence that his guards were faithless, his harem violated, and himself deserted, and that the lovely Lotus had, nothing loth, been transplanted from her royal lover's garden to the Italian's, where she was then blooming in all her native beauty.

Runjeet Sing bore her desertion with

great equanimity, and in a short time she returned to her allegiance, and is now enrolled in his corps of Amazons. She has lately been very ill, and is said to be much altered in appearance, but is still a very lovely girl.

30*th May*.—Returning home from a constitutional canter before breakfast, I was overtaken by one of Runjeet's Goorcherras, with a message from his master, begging me to meet him at his artillery practice ground, where he was then waiting for me. On reaching the spot, I found him sitting in a sort of gilded litter with glass doors and windows, accompanied by a few Sihk horsemen, and young Heera Sing, who was in the litter with him.

He immediately commenced his usual

string of questions:—" Did you see my Cachemirian girls?" " How did you like them?" " Are they handsomer than the women of Hindostan?" " Are they as handsome as English women?" " Which of them did you admire most?" I replied, that I admired them all very much, and named the two I thought the handsomest. He said, " Yes, they are pretty; but I have got some more who are handsomer, and I will send them this evening, and you had better keep the one you like best." I of course expressed my gratitude for such unbounded liberality; and his answer was, " I have got plenty more." He then led the conversation to the subject of horses, and I took the opportunity of asking him about the celebrated horse Leili, to attain

which he had embroiled himself in a tedious and expensive war with a neighbouring province. He told me that the horse was the most perfect animal he had ever seen, but that he was now very old and almost worn out, but that he would send for him in order that I might see him.

Runjeet's passion for horses amounts almost to insanity, at least such was the case a few years ago, though at present, age has tamed that as well as other less harmless passions. Avaricious as he is, he did not appear to regret the enormous sum he had squandered to obtain possession of this animal, (upwards of thirty thousand pounds,) and still less does he regret the vast loss of life to his people, or of character to himself, which this barefaced and unjustifiable rob-

bery entailed upon him. So determined was he to obtain Leili, that he kept the son of the chief in whose possession the animal was supposed to be, a boy of twelve years of age, a close prisoner in his court. In vain he was assured that the horse was dead; his answer was, "You will remain a prisoner till he is found." He kept his word; and not until the horse was delivered to him was the boy permitted to depart.

The more I see of Runjeet Sing, the more he strikes me as an extraordinary man. Cunning and distrustful himself, he has succeeded in inspiring his followers with a strong and devoted attachment to his person; with a quick talent at reading men's minds, he is an equal adept at concealing his own; and it is curious to see the sort

of quiet indifference with which he listens to the absurd reports of his own motives and actions which are daily poured into his ears at the Durbar, without giving any opinion of his own, and without rendering it possible to guess what his final decision on any subject will be, till the moment for action has arrived.

Though he is by profession a Sihk, in religion he is in reality a sceptic, and it is difficult to say whether his superstition is real, or only a mask assumed to gratify and conciliate his people.

He is mild and merciful as a ruler, but faithless and deceitful; perfectly uneducated, unable even to read or write, he has by his own natural and unassisted intellect raised himself from the situation of a private

individual to that of a despotic monarch over a turbulent and powerful nation. By sheer force of mind, personal energy, and courage, (though at the commencement of his career he was feared and detested rather than loved,) he has established his throne on a firmer foundation than that of any other eastern sovereign, and but for the watchful jealousy of the British government, would long ere this have added Scinde, if not Affghanistan, to his present kingdom.

He rules with a rod of iron, it is true; but in justice to him it must be stated, that except in actual open warfare he has never been known to take life, though his own has been attempted more than once, and his reign will be found freer from any

striking acts of cruelty and oppression than those of many more civilized monarchs.

In the evening, a detachment of the Amazons arrived with music and fireworks. The establishment of this corps was one of Runjeet Sing's capricious whims, and the result of one of those drinking bouts which it was his delight, a few years ago, so frequently to indulge in; though latterly, the state of his health and the earnest remonstrances of his medical advisers have induced him to limit his potations within more moderate bounds. There were originally about one hundred and fifty of these fair warriors, who were selected from the prettiest girls from Cachemire, Persia, and the Punjab. They were magnificently dressed, armed with bows and arrows, and

used frequently to appear on horseback, mounted *en cavalier*, for the amusement of the Maharajah. They are allowed a small sum daily for subsistence, and there are few of them who have not succeeded in obtaining grants of small villages from Runjeet Sing, the rents of which they receive—and many contrive to realize a considerable sum of money. The Lotus told me she was the owner of seven good villages, received at different times from Runjeet as marks of his favour. During our visit to Lahore, a considerable degree of excitement prevailed amongst this fairer portion of the Sihk army, owing to a report having arisen that the Maharajah intended to follow the example of the Company, and resume all grants for which no formal title deeds could

DANCING GIRLS

be produced; the report, however, proved to be premature; and I believe Runjeet would sooner face Dost Mahommed and his Afghans, than a single individual of his Amazonian body-guard.

Some of the detachment who attended this evening, though not more than twelve years of age, were very handsome, and their dancing is the first I have seen in this country that has a shade of anything approaching to graceful in it,—one dance by the young Cachemirian girls, with single-sticks in their hands, particularly so; the clatter of the sticks, as they met in the mimic combat, keeping time to a slow and graceful movement of their feet, had the effect of castanets, and was altogether both pretty and singular. At the conclusion of

the evening's entertainment, the Maharajah's head man informed us that it was his master's wish that we should take such of them as pleased us best, and retain them in our service.

31*st May*. — Faqueer Uzeez-oodeen called to say that the Maharajah would receive the mission this morning, for the purpose of hearing Lord Auckland's letter read; and at 9 o'clock we accordingly proceeded to the palace, where we found Runjeet seated as on the former occasion. After a few inquiries and compliments, he proceeded to his private apartments, and in the course of a few minutes we were requested to follow him. He was sitting cross-legged in a large silver chair, very much resembling in shape what is called a

hip bath, with Heera Sing seated at his side, and Dheean Sing standing behind his chair. Rajah Govind Juss, (his vakeel* to our resident at Loodhiana,) the old Faqueer, and Sirdar Llana Sing, were sitting at his feet.

The Governor General's letter was then read to him by Mr. Mc Naghten, and the part he was expected to take in concert with the British Government, for the restoration of Shah Sooja-ool-mulk to the throne of Cabul explained to him, giving him to understand, at the same time, that if he preferred taking his own course, and relying solely upon his own military force, he was at perfect liberty to do so; but that if he should choose the other line, a British force would be ready to march, and co-

* Vakeel, agent or envoy.

operate with his own. Dheean Sing here shewed manifest tokens of disapprobation; and though not daring to make any remark, could not refrain from expressing, both by his countenance and sundry ominous shakes of the head, his dissatisfaction at the idea of any alliance with us.

Runjeet Sing, on the contrary, agreed to the arrangement with the greatest apparent cordiality and eagerness; and after an audience of two hours, we took our leave of him, it having been settled that all minor arrangements should be made hereafter.

We have broken the ice, and so far proceeded with flying colours, and may venture to hope that our visit will not be prolonged many more days; but Runjeet is, I fear, far too selfish not to endeavour to obtain an

equivalent, in some shape or other, for his promised assistance, and the permission to march an army through his country. His hatred of Dost Mahommed, and the hope of seeing him driven from his kingdom, may do much, but I have little doubt that, cordial and willing as he now appears, he will yet find some difficulty to throw in the way of any final arrangement. After our departure, all his chiefs endeavoured to persuade him to reject all co-operation with or assistance from us, and to take his own independent course; to which he replied, that having made up his mind, he wished to hear nothing more said on the subject. In the course of the evening, we had the usual music and fireworks.

1*st June*.—Agreeably to invitation, we re-

paired this morning to meet the Maharajah, and see some of his regular infantry upon their parade. We found about two thousand men under arms, and some foot artillery. They are a fine-looking body of men, dressed in white jackets and trowsers, with black belts and pouches, and wear the yellow Sihk turban. They submit willingly to the same discipline and regulations as our own Sipahis, but have a prejudice against wearing a cap or shako, and previous to their enlistment make an agreement that they shall not be required to do so, or to shave.

They work in three ranks, and do everything by beat of drum, according to the French fashion; are not what is called well set up, but beautifully steady on parade,

and fire with greater precision and regularity, both volleys and file firing, than any other troops I ever saw. They are paid the same as the Company's Sipahis, or rather are promised that such will be the case, though they are frequently upwards of a year, and seldom less than ten months, in arrears. When they are half-starved, and growing desperate, and Runjeet thinks they will bear no more, he makes a compromise with them, and giving half or one-third of what is due to them, half frightens and half cheats them into giving up all further claims. They are finer men, I think, than the Company's Sipahis, have fewer prejudices than most natives, and are more easily managed; and though, as a nation, the Sihks are generally supposed to be

wanting in courage, it is impossible to deny that Runjeet's troops have occasionally fought well. They are tall, rather slight, but very manly-looking men, with great length of limb, and broad, open chests; are excellent marchers, both as regards speed and bottom, for they are capable of making very long marches, not only on emergencies, but have done so with cheerfulness and alacrity for days together. They are hardy far beyond the generality of natives, and seem a merry, light-hearted race of people. All their movements on parade are very steady, but much too slow; they have but one pace for everything, and the double step is unknown to them.

The Sihk army possesses one great ad-

vantage over our own—the ease with which it can be moved. No wheel carriage is allowed on a march, their own bazars carry all they require; and thirty thousand of their troops could be moved with more facility, and less expense and loss of time, than three Company's regiments on this side the Sutlege.

At the conclusion of the field day, I accompanied Runjeet for some distance on his usual morning's excursion. He asked me if I had ever seen any Burmese troops; on my replying in the negative, he said, I have heard that they fight well, and beat your Sipahis. I told him that they fought well behind their stockades, but could not face us on a fair field; and that the Goorkhas were, I thought, a braver race and better

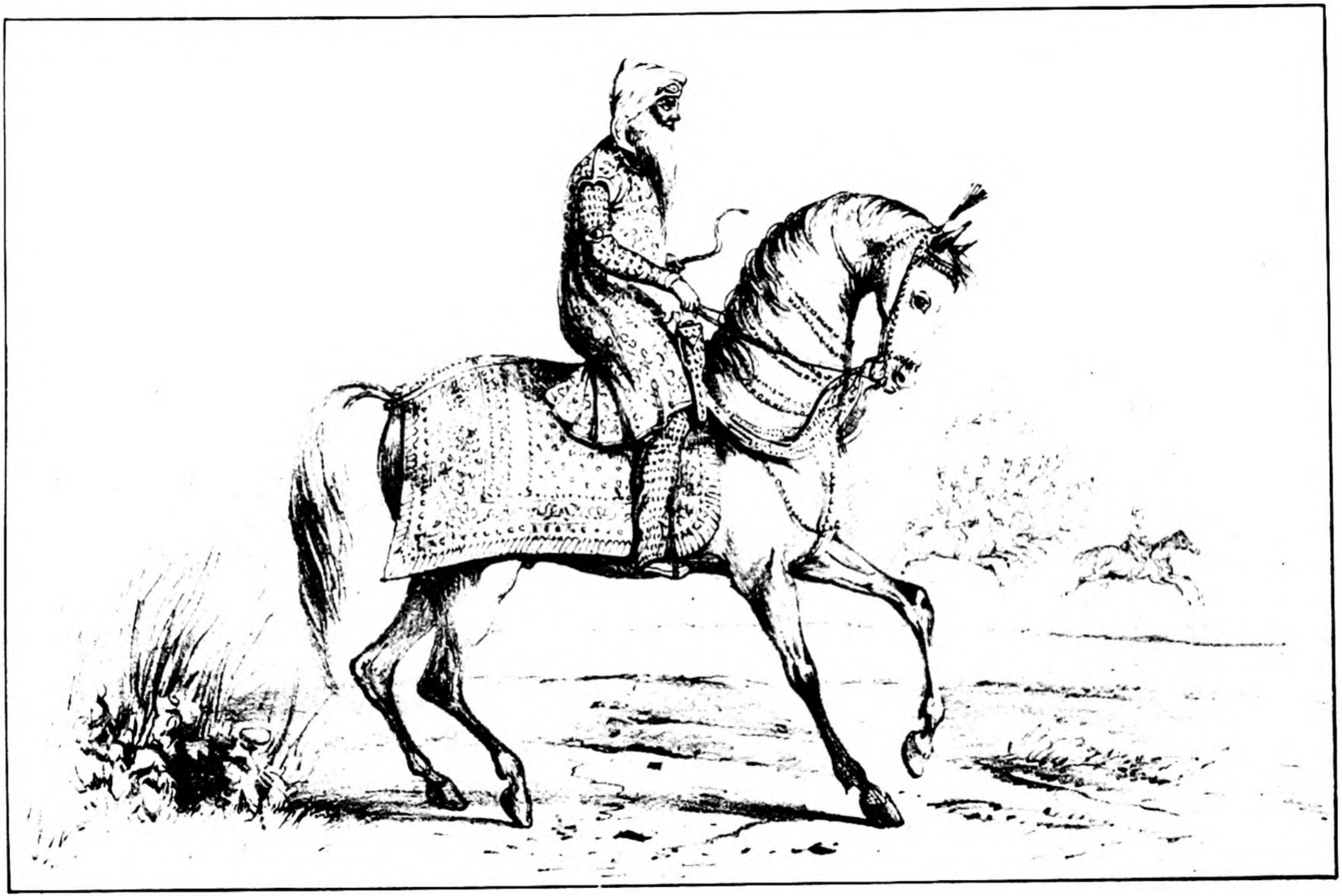
soldiers. "True," he remarked; "they are fine fellows. I have got a regiment of them at Lahore which I will shew you." "How many troops have you got in this country altogether?" "About two hundred thousand." "So I have been told; but you could not bring that number into the field at once, or at any one place?" "Certainly not; it is unnecessary. Twenty, or at the most, thirty thousand British troops could march from one end of India to the other, and no power in the country could stop them." "You are fine fellows; how many Frenchmen can an Englishman beat?" "At school, in England, the boys are always taught to consider themselves equal to three Frenchmen." "And how many Russians?" "The French beat the

Russians, and we beat the French." "If the Russians cross the Indus, what force could you bring against them?" "Quite enough to drive them back, with your Highness for our ally." "Wah! wah! so we will." I asked him some particulars about his Goorkha regiments, and how he managed to recruit for them, as we found the greatest difficulty in keeping our own two regiments complete, from the jealousy of the Nepaulese. He replied, that he found difficulty himself; but that by paying them much higher than any other troops, he managed to keep his regiment in very serviceable order. The truth I afterwards ascertained to be, that not above one man in twenty is a real Goorkha, but they come principally from Cachemire; and as they are small and

active men, they answer very well for the purpose of hill warfare.

At the conclusion of our interview, Runjeet asked me to come and see his artillery practice on the following morning, which I promised to do; and making my salaam, galloped off to my tent to breakfast. It is quite impossible to recollect the number of his questions with sufficient accuracy to write them down; but those I do remember I have written in his own words.

2nd June.—In the course of my ride this morning I met Sher Sing with about two hundred horsemen, galloping off to a jungle about ten miles from Adeenanuggur, to look for a tiger, which was said to be committing great depredations in the neighbourhood. He promised to send me word in the even-



MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SING ON HORSEBACK

ing if the intelligence proved true, and to wait for me the following morning if I liked to join him, and have a shot at it. The usual corps de ballet, music, and fireworks, appeared in the evening.

3*rd June*.—Accompanied the Maharajah to his artillery practice ground, where we found twelve horse artillery guns, of different calibres, but tolerably well horsed and equipped. These guns are the refuse of his artillery, and only used to accompany him when he marches. His great depot is at Lahore, and is said to be very superior, and decidedly his best arm, and the one he takes most interest in. He was trying his own shells; at five hundred yards the practice was indifferent, but at eight and twelve hundred it was excellent. Many of the

shells exploded exactly over the curtain; and when one burst with more than usual accuracy, he turned round and remarked, "I think that will do for Dost Mahommed." At the conclusion of the practice, we rode with him for a short time, and the sun getting hot, returned to our tents to a late breakfast.

Sher Sing returned in the evening, and told me it was a false alarm about the tiger, and that he had been out all day deer and partridge shooting, and was half dead with the heat and glare.

Faqueer Uzeez-oodeen called upon Dr. Drummond this afternoon with a written abstract of the Maharajah's health, and with him upon the subject, and to ask for some directions from his master to consult with

medicine. He invariably consults every medical man he may meet with, and almost as invariably neglects their advice. Their medicine is always given to some of his Sirdars, who are forced to swallow it in his presence, and are then shut up that he may be able to judge of its effects. This was the case in this instance, for we heard the next morning, that on the arrival of some mild aperient medicine which Dr. Drummond had sent in compliance with his request, one of his favourite chiefs was sent for, and directed to take it immediately, and the victim was then sent home, with orders to send his master the earliest possible intelligence of the state of his health on the following morning.

4th June.—At six o'clock this morning,

Capt. Mc Gregor and myself were sent for by the Maharajah to accompany him in his morning's excursion; but before we could get dressed, and our horses saddled, he was five miles off. After a hard gallop, however, we succeeded in overtaking him, and found him proceeding across the country in his litter, with apparently no definite object but that of getting an appetite for his breakfast. About a hundred and fifty of his Goorchur guard, and a horse artillery twelve-pounder, accompanied him as an escort; and, as usual, young Heera Sing was in the litter with him, and Rajahs Soochet and Ajeet Sing on horseback. Every morning at sunrise this escort is paraded in front of his tent, with several of his favourite horses saddled and bridled, his litter, and his riding

elephant; two spare elephants also accompany him, one laden with a small shawl tent and awning, the second with his *batterie de cuisine*. A little after sunrise he leaves his tent, either in his litter or mounted on horseback, and goes straight across the country in whatever direction his fancy leads him, and generally remains out about four hours, when he returns to his palace and sits in Durbar till twelve o'clock, and then generally retires to the privacy of his zenana till the evening. This morning we rode with him for some miles, gossiping and chatting, and endeavouring in vain to satisfy his insatiable curiosity upon subjects of the most opposite nature.

"Are you fond of riding?" "Yes."

"Are you fond of shooting?" "Very." "Have you been out lately?" "Yes; about two months ago." "Where?" "In the Terai and Dehra Dhoow." "What did you shoot?" "Twelve tigers." "Are you married?" "No." "Why don't you marry?" "I can't afford it." "What horse is that you are on?" "An Arab." "Where did you get him?" "He was given to me." "How long were you out shooting?" "Fourteen days." "Do you like my wine?" "Yes; but it is very strong." "Have you breakfasted?" "Not yet." "Then we will breakfast here." And in a small grove of trees a beautiful shawl tent was immediately pitched, with an awning supported by silver poles, and a rich shawl carpet spread; and in less than

five minutes, we found ourselves seated on golden chairs opposite Runjeet, who remained in his litter supported on the bearers' shoulders. Five minutes more sufficed to produce breakfast. Runjeet's table was formed by one of his servants standing up close to his litter with his back towards him, and then stooping till his shoulders were on a level with its floor. A tray containing different sorts of curry, rice, sweetmeats, and milk, was then placed upon the man's shoulders; and the Maharajah commenced his breakfast with an apparently good appetite. The different eatables were served up in the nicest and coolest little vessels possible, about the size of tea-cups, made of fresh green leaves, so closely sewn together as to be capable of retaining

liquids, and beautifully cool and clean. A tray was brought to McGregor and myself, upon each of which was arranged about six of these little cups, containing different sorts of curry, rice, curds, and some remarkably fat quails, with all the bones taken out, and highly spiced and seasoned. We set to work with our fingers, (following our host's example,) and though from want of practice not quite so expert, contrived to make a very hearty breakfast, which we wound up with a delicious draught of iced sherbet.

We then accompanied Runjeet home to his palace, where he desired me to send for my guns, and on their arrival ordered a small lota, or brass drinking cup, to be placed upon a pole, at about sixty yards

distance, in one of the garden walks, and said, "Now, hit that." I humbly suggested, that as the garden was crowded with people I should probably hit something else. His reply was, "Never mind; they will soon get out of the way." I delayed as long as possible till the walk was tolerably clear, and then had the good luck to hit the lota three times running, when I thought it would be prudent to desist, and surrendered my guns to Rajah Dheean Sing, and Soochet Sing, who, luckily for my credit as a shot, failed in all their attempts, and I was lauded in proportion.

We then retired with Runjeet to his favourite seat in the verandah, and remained gossiping with him for upwards of an hour. He asked me if I had been at

Bhurtpore with Lord Combermere, in 1826. I told him that I had. He immediately commenced a string of questions about the siege, and asked if it were true that British troops would attack a breach after being once repulsed; and added, "I have heard that they will not hesitate, even if they had to advance over the dead bodies of their comrades." I told him that it was perfectly true, and that they had done so on many occasions. He remarked, "Ah! my Sihks wont do that. He mentioned a curious circumstance relative to himself and the siege of Bhurtpore that I had heard before, but did not believe, though upon inquiry I found, from Captain Wade, that it was perfectly true. When the army marched to invest Bhurtpore under Lord Comber-

mere, Runjeet Sing had upwards of fifty thousand men in arms, preparing for some expedition against Cachemire; and some apprehensions were entertained by the government, lest he should take the opportunity, when our hands were full, of throwing off the mask of friendship for us, and giving his assistance to Doorjun Saul, the then reigning Rajah of Bhurtpore. He said that on that occasion the Rajah had sent to him, and offered him one hundred thousand rupees for every day's march, and fifty thousand for every day he remained with him, if he would bring twenty thousand men to his assistance. Runjeet asked, "What would you have done if I had acceded to his request?" "Detached five thousand men from the army we had before

the fortress, and driven your twenty thousand Sihks back again across the Sutlege." He looked up and said, "Do you really think they could have done it?" "Yes; and perhaps it is all the better for your Highness and your country that you did not try the experiment." "I believe it has turned out so; but at the time all my people were very anxious that I should have done it."

June 5th.—This morning the Maharajah came to our camp, to see the practice of the Company's artillery, and I afterwards accompanied him a short distance on horseback. I took the opportunity of mentioning how anxious I was to visit Lahore, and Umritsir, if he would give me his permission; to which he replied, "Don't go yet;

I am going myself in a few days, and then we will have *burra tomacha*," (great fun.)

Symptoms of cholera began to appear in our camp, and the heat was dreadful, the thermometer varying from 100 in the day-time to 90 at night; and being all of us bored to death at Adeenanuggur, we voted that Runjeet should, if possible, be aggravated into going to Lahore immediately. We accordingly set the old Faqueer Uzeez-oodeen to work with him, and much to our satisfaction heard, in the course of the evening, that on his mentioning our wishes to the Maharajah, he had consulted the Grunth, or sacred volume of the Sihks, and that, as the oracle was propitious, we might be prepared to set off for Lahore in four days' time.

Runjeet Sing rarely undertakes any expedition of importance without consulting this holy book. When unable to make up his mind upon the probable success of any measure he has in contemplation, he takes a very simple method of solving his doubts, by placing between the leaves of the Grunth two slips of paper, on one of which is written the object of his wishes, and on the other the reverse. The papers are selected by one of his Gooroos or priests, without being looked at, and should the one first presented to him prove propitious to the expedition he may contemplate, he undertakes it with the greatest confidence of success, if otherwise, all idea of prosecuting it is immediately given up.

Daily messages had been sent to Mr.

Mc Naghten, since his interview at the palace, on the subject of the treaty; all tending, as we suspected they would, more or less to create delay, and as it is necessary to wait for answers from Simla to several of these communications, there is every probability of our visit being prolonged for an indefinite period; and the prospect of a change of scene, and a visit to Lahore, is more satisfactory.

6th June.—The monotony of our camp life was broken this morning by the arrival of a very celebrated character in the Punjab, and a person we had all expressed great anxiety to see, and whom the Maharajah had ordered over from Umritsir on purpose.

He is a Faqueer by name, and is held in

extraordinary respect by the Sihks, from his alleged capacity of being able to bury himself alive for any period of time. So many stories were current on the subject, and so many respectable individuals maintained the truth of these stories, that we all felt curious to see him. He professes to have been following this trade, if so it may be called, for some years, and a considerable time ago, several extracts from the letters of individuals who had seen the man in the upper provinces, appeared in the Calcutta papers, giving some account of his extraordinary powers, which were, at the time, naturally enough, looked upon as mere attempts at a hoax upon the inhabitants of Calcutta. Captain Wade, political agent at Loodhiana, told me that he was

THE BURYING FAQUEER

present at his resurrection after an interment of some months, General Ventura having buried him in the presence of the Maharajah and many of his principal Sirdars; and, as far as I can recollect, these were the particulars as witnessed by General Ventura:—After going through a regular course of preparation, which occupied him some days, and the details of which are too disgusting to dilate upon, the Faqueer reported himself ready for interment, in a vault which had been prepared for the purpose by order of the Maharajah. On the appearance of Runjeet and his court, he proceeded to the final preparations that were necessary, in their presence, and after stopping with wax his ears, nostrils, and every other orifice through which it was possible

for air to enter his body, except his mouth, he was stripped and placed in a linen bag; and the last preparation concluded by turning his tongue back, and thus, closing the gullet, he immediately died away into a sort of lethargy. The bag was then closed, and sealed with Runjeet's own seal, and afterwards placed in a small deal box, which was also locked and sealed. The box was then placed in a vault, the earth thrown in and trod down, and a crop of barley sown over the spot, and sentries placed round it. The Maharajah was, however, very sceptical on the subject, and twice in the course of the ten months he remained underground sent people to dig him up, when he was found to be in exactly the same position, and in a state of perfectly suspended ani-

mation. At the termination of the ten months, Captain Wade accompanied the Maharajah to see him disinterred, and states that he examined him personally and minutely, and was convinced that all animation was perfectly suspended. He saw the locks opened, and the seals broken by the Maharajah, and the box brought into the open air. The man was then taken out, and on feeling his wrist and heart, not the slightest pulsation was perceptible. The first thing towards restoring him to life was the forcing his tongue back to its proper position, which was done with some little difficulty by a person inserting his finger and forcibly pulling it back, and continuing to hold it until it gradually resumed its natural place. Captain Wade described

the top of his head to have been considerably heated ; but all other parts of the body, cool and healthy in appearance. Pouring a quantity of warm water over him constitutes the only further measure for his restoration, and in two hours' time he is as well as ever.

He is apparently about thirty years of age, with a disagreeable and cunning expression of countenance. We had a good deal of conversation with him, and he volunteered to be interred for any length of time we pleased, in order to convince us that he is no impostor. We took him at his word, and he is to be buried on our arrival at Lahore, and to remain underground during our stay there, which will probably be three weeks or a month ; and though he complains that the period is too

short, and that it is hardly worth his while to undergo all the trouble of the preparation, if he comes out alive I will willingly give him credit for being able to remain a hundred years if he chooses it.

He states that his thoughts and dreams are most delightful, and that it is painful to him to be awoke from his lethargy.

His nails and hair cease growing, and on his first disinterment he is for a short time giddy and weak, but very soon recovers his natural health and spirits. His only fear whilst in his grave is that of being attacked by insects, which he obviates by having his box suspended from the ceiling.*

* On my return to Simla, accident placed in my hands the appendix to a medical topography of

7th June. — Uzeezoodeen came this morning in a great state of excitement, saying that the Maharajah had consulted the Grunth a second time, and found the oracle so favourable to a change of air that he had determined to set off for Lahore that evening, and hoped we would be able to proceed on the following morning. He

Loodhiania, by Dr. Mc Gregor, of the Home Artillery, by whose permission I have extracted the following account of one of the former interments and resurrections of the Faqueer :—

" A Faqueer who arrived at Lahore engaged to bury himself for any length of time, shut up in a box, and without either food or drink. Runjeet naturally disbelieved the man's assertions, and was determined to put them to the test. For this purpose the Faqueer was shut up in a wooden box, which was placed in a small apartment below the middle of the ground; there was a folding door to his box, which was secured by a lock and key. Surrounding this apartment there was the garden house, the door of which was likewise

accordingly moved his camp about five miles on the road to Lahore, and our advanced camp was sent off a few miles further.

8th June.—Left Adeenanuggur this morning, delighted at the prospect of a change of scene; found our tents awfully hot; we passed Runjeet's camp about half way.

locked, and outside the whole, a high wall, having its doorway built up with bricks and mud. In order to prevent any one from approaching the place, a line of sentries was placed, and relieved at regular intervals. The strictest watch was kept up for the space of forty days and forty nights, at the expiration of which period the Maharajah, attended by his grandson and several of his sirdars, as well as General Ventura, Captain Wade, and myself, proceeded to disinter the Faqueer. The bricks and mud were removed from the outer doorway; the door of the garden house was next unlocked, and lastly that of the wooden box, containing the Faqueer; the latter was found covered with a white sheet, on removing which, the figure of the man presented itself

9th June.—The thermometer at 112 all day in our tents, notwithstanding tatties, phermanticlotes, and every possible invention that was likely to lessen the stifling heat. Runjeet Sing sent us word that he could not stand the heat any longer, and was going off at once to Lahore, which he did, taking his whole camp and about five

in a sitting posture; his hands and arms were pressed to his sides, and his legs and thighs crossed. The first step of the operation of resuscitation consisted in pouring over his head a quantity of warm water; after this, a hot cake of otta was placed on the crown of his head; a plug of wax was next removed from one of his nostrils, and on this being done, the man breathed strongly through it. The mouth was now opened, and the tongue, which had been closely applied to the roof of the mouth, brought forward, and both it and the lips anointed with ghee; during this part of the proceeding, I could not feel the pulsation of the wrist, though the temperature of the body was much above the natural standard of health. The

thousand troops with him; he marched upwards of fifty miles that night.

The thermometer after ten o'clock A.M. at 113. All sorts of experiments to keep themselves cool are tried by the different unhappy individuals in camp; I think mine the most successful. Dig a large hole in the ground, in the centre of your tent, and

legs and arms being extended, and the eyelids raised, the former were well rubbed, and a little ghee applied to the iatter; the eyeballs presented a dimmed, suffused appearance, like those of a corpse. The man now evinced signs of returning animation, the pulse became perceptible at the wrist, whilst the unnatural temperature of the body rapidly diminished. He made several ineffectual efforts to speak, and at length uttered a few words, but in a tone so low and feeble as to render them inaudible. By and by his speech was re-established, and he recognised some of the bystanders, and addressed the Maharajah, who was seated opposite to him, watching all his movements. When the Faqueer was able to converse, the completion of the feat was

then place your table over it to form a sort of inner roof, and prevent the sun from shining down upon you. Make your bheestie water the whole floor of the hut, and then hang a wet sheet over the hole like a hammock, pegged to the ground on the edges of the pit to prevent its touching the bottom; take off all your clothes, and

announced by the discharge of guns, and other demonstrations of joy. A rich chain of gold was placed round his neck by Runjeet, and ear-rings, baubles, and shawls were presented to him. However extraordinary this feat may appear, both to Europeans and natives, it is difficult, if not impossible, to explain it on phrenological principles. The man not only denied his having tasted food or drink, but even maintained that he had stopped the function of respiration, during a period of forty days and forty nights. To all appearance, this long fasting had not been productive of its usual effects, as the man seemed to be in rude health, so that digestion and assimilation had apparently proceeded in the usual manner; but this he

get into it, and by having a skin of water thrown over you every ten minutes, you may perhaps get the temperature down to 100, which would be a perfect heaven to what we are now enduring.

10*th*, 11*th*, 12*th*, 14*th*, 15*th*.—The heat perfectly intolerable; we are unable to eat, drink, or sleep, and support existence by

likewise denied, and piously asserted, that during the whole time he had enjoyed a most delightful trance. It is well known that the natives of Hindostan, by constant practice, can bring themselves to exist on the smallest portion of food for several days, and it is equally true, that by long training, the same people are able to retain the air in their lungs for some minutes; but how the functions of digestion and respiration could be arrested for such a length of time appears unaccountable. The concealment of the Faqueer during the performance of his feat, so far from rendering the latter more wonderful, serves but to hide the means he employs for its accomplishment, and until he can be persuaded to undergo the confine-

suction alone. We heard from the Maharajah this morning, from Lahore, offering a choice of residences there, one of his palaces in the city, or the Shalimar Gardens, about four miles from it, the latter of which we gratefully accepted.

16*th June*.—Entered Lahore this morning; found the Maharajah's carriage waiting

ment in a place where his actions may be observed, it is needless to form any conjectures regarding them. It is well known to physiologists that the heart beats and the function of the lungs is performed, even after an animal's head has been removed; but to suppose for an instant, that the functions of the body can be performed for any length of time, without a supply of fresh arterial blood, which necessarily implies the action of respiration, is absurd, and though in cases of asphyxia, from drowning and hanging, or the inhalation of noxious gases, both circulation and respiration cease for a time; still there is a limit to this, beyond which life becomes extinct, and no power with which we are acquainted is able to recall it. My

for us about five miles from our camp, but the whole concern looked so rickety and unsafe, that in defiance of the heat we preferred riding: found our camp pitched close to the Shalimar Gardens, and in the very hottest corner in the whole Punjab. I never felt anything like the heat. We started before three o'clock this morning, and even then

own opinion is, that the man enjoyed the functions of respiration, circulation, and assimilation, in a degree compatible with the existence of life, and that by long training he had acquired the art of retaining the air in the lungs for some minutes during the time he was being shut up, and when he was again exposed. How he managed to get a supply of food and drink I by no means wish to hazard a guess. It is said that, previous to undergoing the confinement, this man gradually overcomes the power of digestion, so that milk received into the stomach undergoes no change. He next forces all the breath in his body into the brain, which is described as thereby imparting the feeling of a hot coal to the head; the lungs now col-

the thermometer must have been upwards of 100; not a breath of air, and a sort of sultry stifling atmosphere, that made it a painful exertion to breathe. Found Captain Alexander Barnes (who had just arrived from Cabul) at our tents, and Dr. Ford. Barnes mentions having left Dost Mahommed Khan in a high state of excitement; his last words to him were, "I can't do that brute any real harm, but I will torlapse, and the heart, deprived of its usual stimulus, to use a homely phrase, 'shuts up shop.' Having thus disposed of digestion, assimilation, respiration, and circulation, all the passages of the body are next stopped, the legs and thighs are crossed, the hands and arms are pressed to the sides; in short, the man presents the same appearance as when his box was opened. However childish this may all appear, the explanation was quite satisfactory to the good people of Lahore. The same individual exhibited at Jessulmere with success; an account of his feat there is given in Lieut. Boileau's work, lately published."

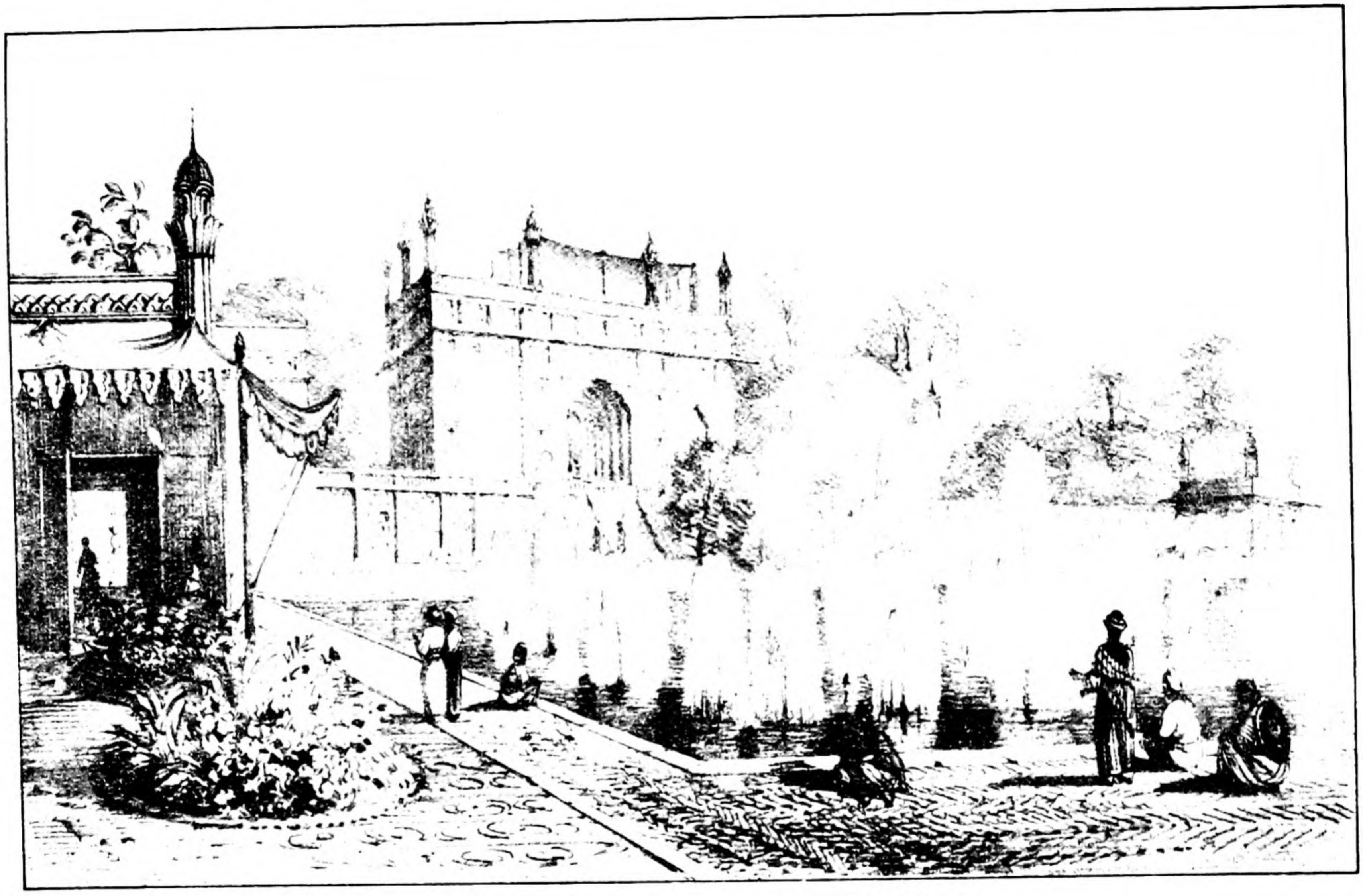
ment him a good deal yet before I have done with him,"—the brute meaning Runjeet Sing. He is represented as a clever, enterprising man. He has about three thousand splendid cavalry, Affghans, and the pick of them, mounted on his own horses, in which he takes the greatest interest, personally inspecting them, and visiting their stables daily. He has no infantry or artillery worth mentioning.

17*th June*.—Hard at work all day endeavouring to make ourselves cool and comfortable in our new quarters—a work of considerable difficulty and trouble. I succeeded tolerably well by pitching a tent about twelve feet square, made entirely of the fresh cuscus grass, and lined with yellow muslin, very thin, to prevent the water from the outside

GOVT COLLEGE FOR WOM
TEXT BOOK LIBRARY
Acc. No. 7407
Date. 28.5.77

wetting the furniture, and yet sufficiently fine to allow of a free current of air. This I have pitched in the middle of the large marble hall in the centre of the gardens, the roof of which prevents the sun from striking down, and all four sides being open, the hot wind is able to blow freely through it, which, by keeping the tent constantly wet on the outside, is converted from something resembling the blast from a furnace into a cool and refreshing, though damp breeze, and the thermometer brought down to eighty-four.

These gardens are very beautiful, and are said to have cost three hundred thousand pounds, but for many years have been totally neglected, and Faqueer Uzeezoodeen tells me that within his recollection



THE SHALAMAR GARDENS, LAHORE

they were so overgrown with jungle as to have become the haunts of tigers and other wild beasts; they are now, however, kept in tolerable order, and, under the superintendence of any person of taste, might be made very picturesque and pretty; and even now, when the fountains are all playing, and the orange trees in blossom, their appearance is very Eastern and handsome. They consist of three large terraces, enclosed within a wall of about from three to four miles in circumference. There is a small tower over every gateway, of which there are four, and a low minaret at each corner of the wall; they are filled with beautiful orange, pomegranate, and mango trees, and vines, with paved stone walks, and a canal running through the centre, with a large

square tank in the middle of the gardens, from which some hundred fountains are constantly throwing water, and adding considerably to the coolness of the atmosphere. The buildings are few and insignificant, and what there are of them are much deteriorated in appearance by Runjeet Sing having abstracted all the marble of which they were composed, to ornament his palace in the city, replacing it with bad stone and chunan work.

18*th June*.—Received a visit from Uzeezoodeen, who informed us that we might begin making our preparations for leaving Lahore, as the Maharajah had made up his mind to put his name to the treaty, and that everything would be very shortly concluded. During my evening's ride I unfor-

tunately got amongst a band of Akalees, and had to endure the usual quantity of abuse and blackguardism they make a point of so lavishly distributing to every one they meet. They are, without any exception, the most insolent and worthless race of people in all India. They are religious fanatics, and acknowledge no ruler and no laws but their own; think nothing of robbery, or even murder, should they happen to be in the humour for it. They move about constantly, armed to the teeth, and it is not an uncommon thing to see them riding about with a drawn sword in each hand, two more in their belt, a matchlock at their back, and three or four pair of quoits fastened round their turbans.

The quoit is an arm peculiar to this

race of people; it is a steel ring, varying from six to nine inches in diameter, and about an inch in breadth, very thin, and the edges ground very sharp; they are said to throw it with such accuracy and force, as to be able to lop off a limb at sixty or eighty yards' distance; but I have several times invited them to shew their dexterity, without witnessing any proof of it that could convince me of the truth of this supposed accuracy. In general, the bystanders have been in greater danger than the object aimed at. Runjeet Sing has done much towards reducing these people to a state of subjection, (though they are still very troublesome,) by breaking up the large bands of them that were accustomed to congregate in all parts of the Punjab. He has raised

AKALEES

some irregular regiments composed entirely of Akalees, which he always employs on any dangerous or desperate service; and as they fight like devils, he continues to make them useful, as well as to expend a great number of them in this way. In 1815, when the Maharajah's army was investing the city of Moultan, the Affghans made so protracted and determined a defence, that Runjeet Sing was induced to offer very advantageous terms, compared to what he was in the habit of doing under similar circumstances; and during the progress of the negotiations, an Akalee, named Sadhoo Sing, with a few companions, advanced to the fausse braye, and without orders, in one of their fits of enthusiasm, attacked the Affghans, who were sleeping or

careless on their watch, and killed every man; the Sihk army took advantage of the opportunity, and rushing on, in two hours carried the citadel, Muzuffer Khan and his four sons being all cut down in the gateway, after a gallant defence.

Though Runjeet Sing has considerably moderated the nuisance, he has by no means exterminated it, and has signally failed in emancipating himself from their insults and abuse, for at any review where any of these regiments may be paraded, it is still a common occurrence for them, on marching past him, to throw handfuls of musket balls at his feet, and abuse and insult him in every sort of manner, frequently threatening his life—a threat which in more than one instance they have attempted to

fulfil. The Maharajah bears it all with the greatest coolness, and they proceed with perfect impunity until they are detected in any great crime, such as robbery or murder, when he shews no mercy, and they are immediately deprived of either their noses, ears, arms, or legs, according to the degree of their offence. During our sojourn at Adeenanuggur, an individual, supposed to be a servant of Rajah Golaub Sing's, was detected by one of the sentries concealed in a mango tree, overlooking Runjeet's Zenana. After a couple of shots the Sipahis brought him down, and he was kept in close confinement till the hour the Durbar assembles, when he was sent for by the Maharajah, and in five minutes dismissed without either ears or nose, and died in a few hours.

19*th June*.—All chance of our departure for Simla postponed for a month at least. The old lion has turned sulky, and refuses to sign the treaty, wishing to stipulate for all sorts of concessions which cannot be granted, and thus reference to head quarters is rendered necessary.

Went out this morning for my usual ride, very much disgusted at this delay; and cordially wishing the Maharajah a speedy return to a better humour, and the recovery of his usual sense. His principal sirdars are those who, for the gratification of their own ambitious projects, exert all their influence to make him declare himself our enemy instead of our friend; but though they may prevail upon him for a time to hesitate, Runjeet has too much sense not to feel

that all his power—nay, his very kingdom itself — depends upon his being on good terms with us.

Found myself on the parade ground close under the walls of the city; a beautiful green plain, with some fine trees scattered about, and a small building in a grove of mangoes, where Runjeet sits to inspect his troops. There were about four thousand men dispersed about in different parts of the field at drill, and a brigade of horse artillery drawn up under the walls. Whilst talking to the officers commanding them, I was sent for by the Maharajah, whom I found sitting in the small building already mentioned, overlooking the different manœuvres of his troops.

I asked him how many troops he had

at present at Lahore; he told me about twelve thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, and added, "you shall see them all out in a day or two." He asked several questions about our mode of paying troops, and mentioned his having been obliged to disband some hundreds of men from the regiments at Peshowar for mutiny. I asked when they had been last paid. "Eighteen months ago, and yet they were discontented." "Very odd," I replied. "What should you do in such a case?" I explained that it could not have happened in our service, where the men were regularly paid. He replied, "So are mine, and more than that, the rascals have been living on plunder for the last six months." I tried in vain to impress upon him that I did not see exactly how else they could live.

20*th June*.—Several of his European officers came to breakfast with us this morning. They do not seem very fond of his service, which is not to be wondered at, for they are both badly and irregularly paid, and are treated with little respect or confidence. He exacts written agreements from them when they join, and some of these are curious documents. In one, the individual is bound to marry a native of the Punjab; to serve faithfully against all Runjeet's enemies, whoever they may be; and never to quit his country or his service without special leave obtained for that purpose.

This is one of the many instances in which Runjeet sacrifices his own interests to his unconquerable avarice. With the finest material in the world for forming an

army, requiring nothing but European officers to make them equal to the Company's, his love of money opposes an obstacle that habit has now rendered him unable to overcome. His distrust and jealousy of Europeans is also another reason that his army, with all its advantages over other native troops, is not in the state of training its appearance would lead you to expect. Runjeet, however, is too advanced in life, and his habits of avarice are grown too strong, to be easily altered, and unless some unforeseen accident occurs, which, by proving to him how little his present force is to be depended on in cases of emergency, shall induce him to follow a more liberal line of conduct, his army will continue as it is, utterly useless and inefficient.

21*st June*.—The weather intolerably close and oppressive; the rains evidently approaching, which will make our return to Simla a more disagreeable, as well as far longer business, than our march here. I find sitting for an hour at daybreak under the great fountain very comfortable, as the water is then cool, and it refreshes me for the whole day. The Sihk guard regularly turn out and present arms in the most soldierlike manner the moment I am seated under the water, and there they persist in remaining under arms during the whole time I am bathing; and considering my dress, or rather the absence of it, at the moment, it is a matter of considerable difficulty to return the salute with the proper degree of dignity.

The Maharajah sent us in the evening a new set of dancing *girls*, as they were called, though they turned out to be twelve of the ugliest old women I ever saw, and who were highly indignant at being sent away on account of their looks, without being permitted to display their talents in screaming.

22*nd June*.—Went to the parade ground soon after sunrise; Runjeet came to meet us on his elephant about a mile from it, and we accompanied him to the right of his line of infantry. It consisted of about twelve thousand men, and reached to the city gates, above two miles. I never saw so straight or beautiful a line with any troops. They were all dressed in white with black cross belts, and either a red or yellow silk

turban; armed with muskets and bayonets of excellent manufacture, from Runjeet's foundry at Lahore. Their movements are very steady, but much too slow, and an European light infantry regiment would find little difficulty in working round them. This might be easily remedied, by having a proper proportion of active European officers, but nothing can be worse than the system now in vogue. The commanding officer abuses and beats the major, the major the captains, the captains the subalterns, and so on till there is nothing left for the privates to beat but the drummer boys, who catch it accordingly.

They tell rather an amusing story of some of Runjeet's crack regiments during one of his actions with Dost Mahommed,

which will shew how little dependence can be placed on their discipline, in a case of emergency. During a very critical period of the action, Runjeet saw an advantageous opening for the advance of part of his reserve, which was composed of his best regiments, and he accordingly gave the order for one of the brigades to come to the support of his advance, and to which order the only reply he received was an universal shout from the men that drill and manœuvres did very well in peace time and on parade, but that they could not stand it now when they were really in action, and that they must fight their own way, or they would not fight at all. They accordingly all broke from their ranks, every man fighting for himself, and of course in

a few minutes were completely routed and beaten.

The reports from different persons on the efficiency of the Sihk army, who have been witnesses to its conduct in action, vary so much, that it is difficult to come at the real truth; but from what I have myself witnessed of its discipline on parade, I should say that it only requires good officers and regular pay to make it a very powerful and serviceable army. The Sihks are generally accused of want of courage, of the truth of which accusation I am unable to judge, but that they have fought the Affghans hand to hand, and beaten them on more than one occasion, there is no doubt; what they would do against our own Sipahis must remain a matter of uncertainty; though I

confess I think, if equally well officered and led, they would prove efficient troops in every way.

As they are at present constituted, Runjeet Sing's own opinion of them is the most correct; though, perhaps, he is the only individual in his dominions who estimates them at their real value. He is well aware that the knowledge of the fact of his maintaining upwards of twenty thousand regular infantry, armed and disciplined like Europeans, has done more towards keeping his refractory Sirdars in order, than the fear of ten times their number of irregular forces would have done; and he is also well aware of the moral influence he derives from the reputation of being able to bring into the field, at a moment's notice, a body of

infantry which, compared with those of other native powers, may be called highly disciplined and effective, and while he relies much on this influence, he places little confidence in their actual services.

His own individual influence over them is most extraordinary; and turbulent and discontented as they are by nature, hard-worked and badly paid, nothing but the awe inspired by the master mind, great information, and powerful resources of Runjeet Sing, could have enabled him with impunity (imitating the example of Nadir Shah after the capture of Delhi) to compel a numerous and victorious army, flushed too with recent success, to disgorge their hard-won plunder, and restore it for his own individual emolument. Such

was the case, however, after his capture of Moultan, for, on the arrival of his army at Lahore after the siege, he issued a proclamation, that all the plunder was to become the property of the state, and by dint of threats and punishment succeeded in obtaining the restoration of almost every article of value.

After going down the line of infantry, we crossed the river with Runjeet Sing, in order to inspect his artillery, which we found drawn up on the opposite bank. It consisted of a battery of fifty-three horse artillery, nine pounders, cast in brass in his own foundry at Lahore, from the patterns of those presented to him by Lord William Bentinck. The only discreditable part of his artillery in appearance is the harness,

which is patched and shabby, but the horses, though small, appeared to be active, and in very tolerable condition. He is very proud of the efficiency and admirable condition of his artillery, and justly so, for no native power has yet possessed so large and well-disciplined a corps. Rajah Dheean Sing feels a great interest in all pertaining to this branch of his master's army, and under his active superintendence it is daily improving, and has already become by far the best and most powerful arm of the Sihk nation.

His regular infantry have been all raised and drilled by General Ventura, an Italian officer in his service, and to whom this present soldierlike appearance and state of discipline are entirely due. The raising of the

regular cavalry was entrusted to General Allard, a French officer; but from all I can hear, his intentions have been so thwarted, and his means so limited, by the parsimony of the Maharajah, that the same success has not attended his efforts with the cavalry which General Ventura appears to have met with in the infantry. They are both invaluable officers to the Maharajah; and he is acting contrary to his own best interests by not treating them with more liberality and confidence than he is said to do.

23rd June.—This morning, after breakfast, took a stroll round the gardens for the purpose of selecting a proper spot for the interment of our friend the Faqueer, and fixed on a small circular room on the ground-

floor of one of the round towers in the garden wall, about twenty feet in diameter, with a brick arched roof and floor. We set the bricklayers to work, and in the centre of this room built a small vault about five feet square, with a door just sufficiently large to admit the box which contains the Faqueer, made of strong planks of wood, about two inches thick, with staples and hasps, and a strong padlock; and then, having prepared bricks and mortar to wall up the doorway of the outer room, we sent him word that all was ready, and he promised to make his appearance in the evening or the following morning.

24th June.—At sunrise waited on the Maharajah, according to appointment, to see the practice of his artillery. There were

thirteen brass nine pounders on the ground, protected by two squadrons of his regular cavalry, under the command of Rajah Dheean Sing. After manœuvring for about an hour, and executing several of the more simple movements with considerable precision and steadiness, and at a tolerable pace, they commenced practising with grape at a curtain, at two hundred yards' distance; the practice would have been creditable to any artillery in the world. At the first round of grape, the curtain was cut clean away, and their shells at eight and twelve hundred yards were thrown with a precision that is extraordinary, when the short period of time since they have known of even the existence of such a thing is taken into consideration. I rode up to the curtains with

Dheean Sing at the conclusion of the practice, and found them almost cut to pieces. The Rajah appeared highly delighted at his success, and remarked to Runjeet Sing, that he wished Dost Mahommed could have been present, as a witness to his proficiency.

I took the opportunity of looking at the two squadrons of General Allard's cavalry, who were on the ground. They were the first of them I had yet met with, and I was much disappointed in their appearance. They do not look to advantage by the side of the infantry. They are men of all ages, ill-looking, ill-dressed, and worse mounted, and neither in appearance or reality are they to be compared to the infantry soldier of the Punjab. One reason for this is, that Runjeet personally inspects every recruit for his infantry,

whilst the cavalry is generally recruited from the followers of the different Sirdars, and most of them owe their appointments to favour and interest, more than to their fitness and capability.

25*th June*.—We were all disturbed before sunrise this morning by a tremendous cannonade, and found, upon inquiry, that Kurruck Sing, the heir apparent, had arrived from Peshowar in the course of the night, and that to do him honour, all the heavy guns on the city walls, as well as the whole park of artillery, had been fired by the Maharajah's orders—a compliment which he seldom, if ever, causes to be paid to himself.

26*th June*.—This morning, at sunrise, ordered our elephants, and went out to try

and relieve the monotony of our life by a few hours' shooting. Proceeded straight to a rumna, or preserve, of the Maharajah's, which we supposed to abound in wild hog, hares, and black partridges. The Sihks, in contradiction to the religious tenets of most of the other castes in India, are very fond of pork, and Runjeet cultivates grain and sugar-cane round this preserve for the wild hog who frequent it to feed upon. Beef is as much a forbidden food in the Punjab as pork is in Hindostan to the natives; and to kill a cow across the Sutlege would subject the perpetrator of the deed to almost certain death. We found a considerable quantity of wild hog, and a few black partridges, in the rumna, and had altogether two hours' very tolerable shooting.

The Maharajah met our servants returning home with the produce of their sport, and after examining most critically every pig, he counted the number of balls each had received, and when he found one killed by a single shot, asked who killed it, and said, "that was a good shot;" whilst to some who had been a good deal mangled, he remarked, "Bad that, very bad." He gave each of the servants ten rupees, and dismissed them with a civil message to us, to go and shoot there whenever we pleased.

I received a note from Sher Sing in the evening, requesting me to ask the Maharajah to allow him to accompany me the next time I went there, with a warning that, on no account, was I to let Runjeet know that I had had any communication with

him. I sent a civil answer, to the effect that I could not trespass so far on the Maharajah's kindness as to presume to ask leave for any one to shoot on ground he preserved for his own amusement, and to which I was only admitted as a particular favour, much less, one of his own court and family; but that I should be happy to make a party with him to look for sport in any other direction. His reply was civil and gentlemanlike, saying that I was right, and that as we should probably meet in the morning, we could then make arrangements for a shooting expedition to a jungle at a few miles' distance.

This morning was fixed upon for the interment of our friend the Faqueer, who had arrived the evening before, and having

undergone the necessary purgation, both of body and mind, professed himself eager for the moment when he hoped to convince us he was no impostor. I went to see him at sunrise, and found him sitting on the bare floor praying, and evidently more nervous and frightened than he was at all inclined to acknowledge, and by no means so confident as he had hitherto been; he however insisted that at twelve o'clock—the hour originally settled—he would be ready, and, in short, seemed determined to keep up the farce to the last moment.

At the appointed hour we accordingly all assembled, and found a crowd of priests and Gooroos collected at the spot, to witness the interment of the holy man. His courage had much evaporated since the morning,

and he commenced the interview by saying that we had promised him no reward. We told him that we feared a man of his sanctity would have been offended at any such offer, but as it was not so, we would agree to give him fifteen hundred rupees if he came out alive at the end of a week, and that we were also empowered to promise him a jaghir of two thousand rupees yearly, on the part of Runjeet Sing.

He then requested to know what precautions we meant to take to prevent his being disturbed, and to keep away all chance of communication from without. We produced two padlocks for his box, and two more for the door of the inner vault, one key of each of which we told him should be given to any one he might appoint to receive

it, and the others we should keep ourselves ; that all the locks should be sealed with our own seals ; that the entrance to the outer room in which the vault was built should be walled up ; that sentries from our own troops should be posted night and day round the tower, and that if at the end of the period specified—one week—he was alive to claim them, the money and the villages should both be made over to him. He was evidently frightened, and made objections to arrangements that he himself had proposed the day before, and insisted that he must have a duplicate key to each lock, which he must leave in charge of his own people ; that the seals should be only placed upon a particular part of each lock, which he pointed out, and where they would have

been perfectly useless, and also insisted upon no Mussulmen sentries being placed near the spot.

After an hour's wrangle, he professing himself ready to fulfil his engagement on these conditions, and we firm in our resolution not to be humbugged, we rose to go away. He immediately broke out into the most violent abuse against all Englishmen generally, and ourselves individually, who, he said, had come all the way to Lahore on purpose to endeavour to lower him in the opinion of his own people, and to make them believe he was an impostor. "But," he added, "you will not succeed; my sanctity is too firmly established to be called in question by you who believe in nothing, and are feringees and heretics." In vain we

assured him that the whole business had originated in a volunteer on his part to perform what we had all along felt convinced was impossible, but that we were still open to conviction, and that if we were allowed to witness what he stated so many other persons had done, we were willing to give our testimony to the fact, but before doing so, that conviction must be firm and complete. He however continued very violent and abusive, and, after a short time spent in trying to soothe him, we left him, with no doubt on our minds of his being an impostor. In the course of the evening he sent me a message by one of the Maharajah's Sirdars, to say that Runjeet Sing was very angry with him, and that unless he could succeed in convincing us, he

should now lose all the credit he had formerly gained, and ṣhould be looked upon by his own countrymen and brother priests as an impostor,—and that rather than this should occur, he would agree to the proposed terms, though he felt sure that our object was only to destroy him, and that we knew very well that he never would come out alive.

I told him, in reply, that I was as certain as himself of the latter fact, and that though there were no coroner's inquests in the Punjab, I had still a strong objection to having his death laid at my door; and that, as he himself now allowed the danger of the attempt, I must decline having anything more to do with it.

28*th June*.—Took my usual ride this

morning to the parade ground, and found Runjeet Sing inspecting a brigade of infantry and some guns. It is called Heera Sing's brigade, but the youngster is much too idle ever to assume the command himself.

Reports had been received the day before from Heerat, of Mr. Mc Neil's having left the Persian camp, and (though the fortress still held out) that twelve thousand Russians were on their march to assist at its reduction. Runjeet Sing was very much excited, and could talk of nothing else. "What number of troops does the Emperor of Russia keep in pay?" "Are they good soldiers?" "Can the English beat them?" "Can the Sipahis beat them?" &c., &c. I told him that the French had often beat them, and that we had beaten the French

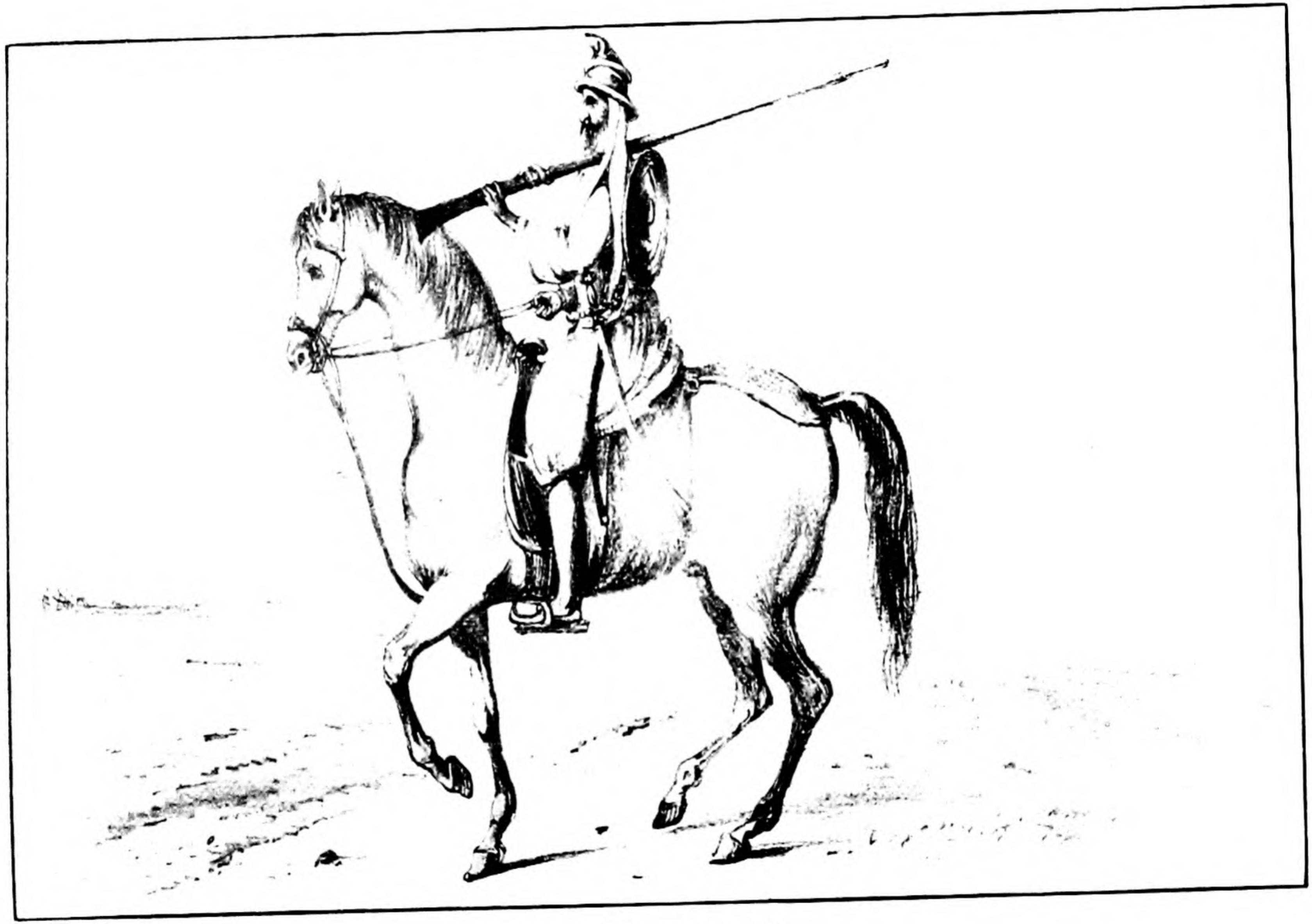
quite as often. "If they wished to invade India, what number of men could they bring across the Indus?" "Fifty thousand would be the smallest number they would attempt an advance with, and probably one hundred thousand would be sent." "What should you do if they were actually to attempt an invasion?" "Join your highness with thirty thousand British troops, which, with seventy thousand of your Sihks, would be quite sufficient to drive them back again." "Wah, wah, so we will." "Do you wish them to come?" "Of course I do; it would be *burra tomacha*," (great fun.) "So do I," he replied, "I am sure we could beat them. Have they much money?" "No; very little." "Then there would be nothing but fighting; no plunder?" "Certainly

not." He looked very sulky for a few moments, and then giving a deep sigh, said, "Perhaps it will be better if they do not come, after all;" and his anxiety for the advance of the Russians appeared to have diminished considerably. I asked him, among other questions, whether he ever worked his troops in large bodies, cavalry and infantry together, and whether they were taught anything of light infantry movements. He told me, that since the period of Sir Henry Fane's visit to him, he had constantly had his infantry drilled as light infantry, and that I should see them out in a day or two.

29*th June*.—We received a visit from the old Faqueer Uzeezoodeen this morning, who gladdened our hearts by informing us

that we might commence our preparations for a return to Simla, as the Maharajah had at last made up his mind to put his name to the treaty without any further delay. Sent off my horses in the evening to be laid at intervals on the road, as the whole country is under water, and it is very doubtful whether we shall be able to carry our tents, and therefore marching would be out of the question ; but I hope, in spite of weather, and bad, or rather no roads, by the aid of plenty of horses, to be able to reach Simla in three days. Sent a Shuta surwar (camel-rider) off with an express to Simla, to say that our business was coming to a conclusion, and that we hoped on the following morning to see the Maharajah, and induce him to fix an early day for our audience of

leave. The rains having set in, have brought out all the musquitoes and reptiles that swarm in the gardens; and what with the buzzing and stinging of the former, and the dread of finding one of the latter in one's bed, it is by no means a pleasant residence. Captain Stuart of the escort killed two large cobra capellas this morning in his room, and two of the Sipahis were found dead, having been bitten by a snake whilst asleep. They brought the snake to me alive, it having been caught by one of the poor fellow's comrades: it was a small dark-green one, about eighteen inches in length, and not so thick as my little finger. They both appeared to have died instantaneously, and without even awaking. The only wound was a small puncture on the sole of the foot.



MOUNTED AKALEE

30*th June*.—Was awakened this morning, at three o'clock, by the return of the Shuta surwar we had dispatched the evening before; he came back covered with blood, and stripped to the skin, with the account of his having been attacked about seven miles from Lahore by a band of Akalees. They had cut off one of his fingers, taken his camel, carbine, and pistols, all his clothes and his dispatches, and then told him he might return as fast as he pleased.

Sent him off to the Maharajah to make his complaint to him; he returned in the course of the afternoon, having received one hundred rupees for his camel, another hundred for his arms and clothes, and fifty for his finger, and upon the whole seeming very well satisfied. Runjeet has sent some of

his cavalry after the Akalees, and if he catches any of them they will lose one, if not both of their arms, or perhaps a leg instead. His executions are very prompt and simple, and follow quickly on the sentence: one blow of an axe, and then some boiling oil to immerse the stump in, and stop all effusion of blood, is all the machinery he requires for his courts of justice. He is himself accuser, judge, and jury; and five minutes is about the duration of the longest trial at Lahore.

At six o'clock mounted our elephants and proceeded to a jungle a few miles off, where I had promised to meet Sher Sing and have a few hours' wild hog and deer shooting. Found him waiting our arrival with an immense establishment of elephants,

and we fell in with a great many wild hogs, some deer, and a few black partridges and hares. The Sihks have a curious way of catching the wild hog, which I never saw practised in any other part of India. They make a kind of snare of strong withys, and setting them in runs of the hogs, generally succeed in catching the finest boars, who, when once disturbed, rush blindly on, till brought up by these snares, when a man goes up, and generally at a single blow of his sword puts an end to them. We caught five and twenty in this manner in the course of a few hours. On our arrival at home, found that yesterday's good intelligence was correct, and that we might really hope to be able to set off for Simla in the course of a week.

1*st July*.—Proceeded as usual to the parade ground, and, as usual, found the Maharajah inspecting a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and horse artillery; they were under the command of Sirdar Goolab Sing, one of his best and most intelligent native officers, and went through a common field-day with great readiness and precision. Runjeet Sing was most particular in his inquiries as to whether his system of tactics was the same as ours, and repeatedly begged I would point out anything I observed that was different from our own drill. I mentioned to him the only mistakes that came to my notice;—one, the system of making his skirmishers fire together in volleys by word of command. He replied that it enabled them to fire more regularly. I ex-

plained to him that we considered the object of all skirmishing defeated by it, and that each man should fire individually, as soon as he had taken his aim, and felt certain of his mark, without waiting for his comrades. He considered for a few minutes, and then said, " I think it would be better and I will try it ;" and the next morning I saw his light infantry practising individual firing, and skirmishing as well as any company's regiment could have done. There was only one other mistake which I pointed out to him, and suggested that the cavalry protecting his guns should be on the flanks and not in the rear. He saw the propriety of this at once, and the order for the change was given on the spot.

He was in high good humour, and talked

of our approaching departure from his court, and asked how I meant to travel on my return, now that the rainy season had commenced. I told him that marching was out of the question, and travelling in a palanquin nearly as difficult; but that I should try to ride as far as I could, and hoped by that means to reach Loodhiana in the course of four and twenty hours; and that from thence, once in our own territories, I should find no difficulty in getting to Simla. He offered his carriage, and said he would order his different Sirdars to provide relays of horses the whole way to Loodhiana if I liked. I could not well refuse, so made the best of it, and expressed the greatest gratitude for his consideration and kindness; though judging from the appearance of the

carriage, (an enormous old English family state coach, I felt little hope of its not falling to pieces the first stage, to say nothing of the harness, to repair which it was generally found necessary to stop several times even in the short distance between the city and our camp. The only horses, too, I shall have to depend upon will be those of his artillery, and they are not the quietest race of creatures in the world; but anything is better than travelling three hundred miles in a palanquin, even over the best of roads, and in the finest weather; but now, with the country all under water, if we got on at all, it would be hopeless expecting to reach Loodhiana under a week by that mode of conveyance; so Mackerson and myself have made up our

minds to make the experiment of posting in the Punjab, which, if it has nothing else, will at all events have the advantage of novelty to recommend it.

July 2nd. — Started before sunrise this morning to pay a visit to Shah Doora, and see the celebrated mausoleum of Jehangeer. It is a magnificent building, enclosed with a wall of some height, and occupying a space of about six hundred yards square; the tomb is kept in excellent repair, and though far inferior to the Taj at Agra, is well worth the gallop of a few miles from Lahore .to see. On my return home, I met the Maharajah taking his usual ride. He was very inquisitive as to where I had been, and I never saw him in so good a humour or such high spirits. After a good deal of

gossip upon various subjects, he said, "You have never been at one of my drinking parties; it is bad work drinking now the weather is so hot; but as soon as we have a good rainy day, we will have one." I sincerely trust it will not rain at all during our stay, for, from all accounts, nothing can be such a nuisance as one of these parties. His wine is extracted from raisins, with a quantity of pearls ground to powder, and mixed with it, for no other reason (that I can hear) than to add to the expense of it. It is made for himself alone, and though he sometimes gives a few bottles to some of his favourite chiefs, it is very difficult to be procured, even at the enormous price of one gold mohur for a small bottle. It is as strong as aquafortis, and as

at his parties he always helps you himself, it is no easy matter to avoid excess. He generally, on these occasions, has two or three Hebes in the shape of the prettiest of his Cachemirian girls to attend upon himself and guests, and gives way to every species of licentious debauchery. He fell violently in love with one of these fair cup-bearers about two years ago, and actually married her, after parading her on a pillion before himself on horseback, through the camp and city, for two or three days, to the great disgust of all his people. The only food allowed you at these drinking bouts are fat quails stuffed with all sorts of spices, and the only thing to allay your thirst, naturally consequent upon eating such heating food, is this abominable liquid fire.

Runjeet himself laughs at our wines, and says that he drinks for excitement, and that the sooner that object is attained the better. Of all the wines we brought with us as a present to him from the governor-general, consisting of port, claret, hock, champagne, &c., the whiskey was the only thing he liked. During these potations he generally orders the attendance of all his dancing girls, whom he forces to drink his wine, and when he thinks them sufficiently excited, uses all his power to set them by the ears, the result of which is a general action, in the course of which they tear one another almost to pieces. They pull one another's nose and earrings by main force, and sometimes even more serious accidents occur; Runjeet sitting by encour-

aging them with the greatest delight, and exclaiming to his guests, "*Burra tomacha, burra tomacha*," (great fun.)

He told me that he had fixed on the 12th as the day on which he would receive the mission, to give them their dresses of honour and their audience of leave, and promised that we should then see the celebrated diamond—the mountain of light, and a nearly as celebrated topaz, and his other jewels. Kurruck Sing, his son and heir, was with him this morning. He is the worst looking of the Sihks I have yet seen, and if report speaks true, is little better than an imbecile; but of this I had no opportunity of personally judging, it being the only time I ever saw him, and our conversation consisting merely of a few common-

place questions and answers. His manners, however, appear to be awkward and unconciliatory, and he is but little liked or respected in the Punjab.

3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th July.—The rain so violent and unceasing as to render it impossible to go out. By great good fortune, Runjeet Sing's medical advisers would not allow him to have his promised drinking party, so we escaped that horrible nuisance, though much against the Maharajah's inclination, who even hinted at the propriety of our postponing our departure for a few days, with the hope that he should become sufficiently strong to indulge again in his customary debauchery. But against this we all strongly remonstrated, and with some difficulty succeeded in making him adhere to

the day originally appointed for our departure.

July 8th.—The rain continued all yesterday, and I was forced to send an apology for not having gone according to promise to meet the Maharajah. It however held up for some hours this morning, and soon after sunrise I found him riding on horseback with young Heera Sing, in the neighbourhood of our tents. He was in a most facetious humour, which rather surprised me, as reports had been received over-night from Peschowar, by no means favourable to the success of his arms in that quarter. His old enemy, Dost Mahommed Khan, with his Affghans, had attacked and utterly defeated a large body of the Sihk army under one of Runjeet's favourite generals,

and had killed and taken prisoners upwards of five hundred of them. The Maharajah seemed to bear the reverse with great equanimity, and, in answer to some questions I ventured to put to him on the subject, said that a trifling defeat now and then was useful, as it taught both men and officers caution. He asked many questions about the proficiency and courage, as soldiers, of the different castes of natives of Hindostan, and remarked, that he considered the Sihks the bravest nation of the east, adding, "Do you not think I am right?" "Hardly; if they are as brave a nation as you represent them to be, how happens it that your highness at the commencement of your career found so little difficulty in conquering all the other Sihk chiefs, and reducing them

with few superior forces to such abject obedience as you did?" "Ah! that was my destiny; it was written on my forehead, and must have come to pass. My disciplined troops, too," he added, "gave me an immense superiority over all cotemporaries." Here I could only bow and laugh; for at the time he had not twelve hundred men he could depend on, and they the most irregular and undisciplined in the Punjab. "Do you find more difficulty in keeping up the discipline of your European regiments in this country than in England?" "Our discipline is always the same wherever we may be; and with good officers, change of country or climate should make no difference in the discipline or efficiency of an army." "True; I get on very well with

all mine; but there is one regiment I cannot manage," he added, with a laugh; "they give me more trouble than all the rest of my army put together, and those are the Amazons. How do you manage them at home?" "We have nothing of the sort with us." "I hope Lord Auckland will think them in good order, and I trust he will like to see them." "No doubt." "I have got some beautiful recruits from Cachemire on their road, and I will have it perfect before his visit; but they are very difficult to manage." "Perhaps if your highness would allow me to take with me to Simla the non-commissioned officers of the corps and the new recruits which you expect, by the time Lord Auckland goes to visit you I might be able to drill them into something

like order." "Should you like to take them with you?" "Very much." "No; I can't do that; I have not seen them myself yet." "Your highness will find if they remain here that they will be corrupted by communication with the rest of the corps, and you may rely upon it, the best plan will be to make them over to me." "Do you think so? Well, I will think about it. Is Lord Auckland married?" "No." "What! has he no wives at all?" "None." "Why don't he marry?" "I don't know." "Why don't you marry?" "I can't afford it." "Why not? Are English wives very expensive?" "Yes; very." "I wanted one myself some time ago, and wrote to the government about it, but they did not send me one." "It would be difficult to find

one in this country that would suit your highness." "Are there any in England?" "Plenty." "Ah! I often wish for one." I recommended him to send young Heera Sing to England to look out for one for him, but he did not at all seem to like to trust him on such a mission; though, if report speaks true, he is frequently his companion in his licentious orgies even in the zenana, and some months ago he succeeded in abducting one of its favourite inmates; but Runjeet either did not know it, or at all events pretended not to do so, for he took no notice of it, though at the time it created a great deal of disgust among his people, and occasioned a quarrel between Heera Sing and his father.

9*th July*.—Heavy and continued rain—impossible to go out, and the heat stifling and insufferable. If this weather lasts another week, Heaven knows when the escort and our baggage will be able to move. The tents are so heavy from the wet that it will be impossible to move them, even with double the allowance of elephants; and that part of our expedition which must be performed in palanquins will be dreadful work; the Sutlege, too, and the Ravee are said as it is to be impassable at present, from the tremendous current coming down from the hills. In short, everything seems to conspire against our comforts.

10*th July*.—The weather is clearing up, and we have some hope that if it remains as mild as it now is for eight-and-forty hours,

we may be able to send off some of our people to-morrow. Runjeet Sing sent word that he had ordered relays of horses for us for five stages, and that from thence his chiefs would find some means of forwarding us to Loodhiana.

11*th July*.—Rain again heavy and unceasing; half our servants and palanquins, &c., were sent off yesterday, so that we must go to-morrow, whatever the state of the weather may be.

13*th July*.—Soon after sunrise, Sirdar Ajeet Sing arrived in camp to conduct us to the city, where the Maharajah held a public durbar in his palace, for the purpose of investing us with the usual dresses of honour, and giving us leave to depart from his court. We found him sitting with most of his

chiefs around him, in a small marble hall in the garden of his palace, and after half an hour's gossip on various subjects, I put him in mind of his promise to shew me the Koh-i-noor, which he immediately sent for. It certainly is a most magnificent diamond, about an inch and a half in length, and upwards of an inch in width, and stands out from the setting, about half an inch : it is in the shape of an egg, and is set in a bracelet between two very handsome diamonds of about half its size. It is valued at three millions sterling, is very brilliant, and without a flaw of any kind. Runjeet was anxious to know what it would be valued at in England, and whether we had ever seen so fine a one, &c. His string of pearls was, I think, if possible, even handsomer

than the diamond ; they are about three hundred in number, and literally the size of small marbles, all picked pearls and round, and perfect both in shape and colour. The presents from the Maharajah to the officers of the mission were then produced, and delivered with his own hands ; mine consisted of a string of pearls, a chelenk of diamonds, six pair of shawls, and several pieces of gold embroidered silk, a pair of diamond armlets, a sword, and horse, with gold and velvet housings and accoutrements ; the others in the same proportion. To the men of the escort he gave 1200 rupees, and the same to our servants.* Runjeet then embraced

* All these things were duly deposited in the coffers of the Honourable Company, much to our disgust, as well as to that of the Maharajah.

us all, and wishing us all sorts of health and prosperity, retired to his palace. Immediately after breakfast, Captain Mackison and myself commenced our journey to Loodhiana. The sight of the carriage and horses at once convinced us that we must be in the possession of more than common good-fortune, if we succeeded in getting safe even to the end of the first stage; but there was nothing left for us but to take our chance. The old coach looked so rickety, and the horses so little inclined to do their work, that it appeared almost hopeless; however, after a considerable deal of plunging, and having to repair the ropes which composed the harness, we managed to make a start. Four extra horses accompanied us in case of accidents; and it proved lucky that we had

this resource, for before we had got half way, our first team was completely knocked up, and we were six hours doing the first ten miles. The whole country was under water, and in some places it was over the axletrees of the wheels. Both doors of the carriage parted company with us, being broken clean off the hinges. However, we did arrive at our first stage, and, to our great delight, found there a very good English britchka, belonging to Sher Sing, which took us the next fifteen miles, to Umritsir, in two hours' time. Here we had another set of horses, and by eleven o'clock at night found ourselves on the banks of the Ravee, having completed about fifty miles of our journey. We crossed the Ravee in an open boat, and as the current was tremendously

strong, and the boat much overladen, (having about thirty of Runjeet's cavalry on board with us as an escort,) it was a very nervous operation; but by going with the stream, we managed to reach the opposite bank without accident, though we were carried some miles below the usual landing-place. We reached Loodhiana the following morning at daybreak, and after breakfast I started for Simla, where I arrived in the course of the next forty-eight hours without difficulty.

MAHOMED HUSSAN, SHAH SOOJA'S VAKEEL

CONCLUSION.

THE object of the Governor General's mission to Lahore having been accomplished, and the concurrence, and, if necessary, the co-operation, of Runjeet Sing in the restoration of Shah Soojah secured, Mr. Mc Naghten repaired to Loodhiana, for the purpose of submitting to the Shah the treaties that had been concluded, and announcing to him the approaching change in his fortunes. The envoys seem to have been much struck with the majestic appearance

of the old pretender, especially with the flowing honours of a black beard descending to his waist, always the most cherished appendage of oriental dignity. He had lived for twenty years in undisturbed seclusion, if not "the world forgetting," certainly "by the world forgot," consoling himself for the loss of his kingdom in a domestic circle of six hundred wives, but always "sighing his soul" towards the mountains and valleys of Affghanistan, and patiently awaiting the *kismet*, or fate, which was to restore him to his throne. The preparations thenceforward went rapidly on. The contingent raised by the Shah was united (more for form than use) to the British force, and in three months the expedition began its operations. A meeting had meanwhile been arranged

between the Governor General and Runjeet, which took place on the 30th November, at Ferozpoor. Notwithstanding the enfeebled state of the Maharajah's health, who had been recently attacked with a severe and dangerous illness, he displayed his wonted spirit and intelligence upon this occasion; the interview was accompanied with all those varied and picturesque exhibitions of military pomp and courtly splendour which never fail to excite and gratify European curiosity, whilst on the display of the Governor General, and the honours paid to him, the mind of an Englishman rests with peculiar complacency, as a manifestation and acknowledgment of our national grandeur and power. Of all human conditions, perhaps the most brilliant, and at the same

time the most anomalous, is that of Governor General of British India. A private English gentleman, and the servant of a joint-stock company, during the brief period of his government he is the deputed sovereign of the greatest empire in the world; the ruler of a hundred millions of men; while dependent kings and princes bow down to him with deferential awe and submission. There is nothing in history analogous to his position, except perhaps that of the early Roman emperors, while they were still only the first citizens of the state, invested with the manifold attributes of republican authority, claiming no social, while possessing every political pre-eminence over their fellow-countrymen. Nor would it be easy to devise any other system so well adapted to

the end of governing a people widely differing in race, language, and religion; cemented by no common ties, and only resembling each other in the pride and the prejudices which obstruct the diffusion of that civilization which it is the object of Great Britain to bestow as a compensation for the liberty of which she has deprived them. A field of boundless extent is open to the most exalted ambition, and a rich harvest of improvement to be reaped by the moralist, the philosopher, and the statesman. While the great principles of administration are too accurately defined to leave room for caprice or uncertainty in their general application, a wholesome severity of regulation circumscribes the power of rulers for all purposes of exaction or oppression, but leaves it unfet-

tered for the discharge of the high functions of government, which they may exercise with scarcely any limit or hindrance, upon their own personal responsibility. Generally men of tried honour and capacity, they carry out to India the sound and well-regulated principles, the love of order and of freedom, the love of justice and humanity, in which British statesmen are educated; and while their reign lasts too short a time to allow of any relaxation in the energy of their zeal, or of that supineness which is apt to attend the satiety of long-enjoyed power, every incentive that can stimulate the exertions of a generous mind urges each successive governor to mark his administration by some signal benefit conferred upon the people committed to his charge.

This was the spirit which animated both the late and the present Governors, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Auckland. Resembling each other in the unostentatious simplicity of their personal tastes and habits, and those sterling qualities of mind and character, which inspire attachment and command respect, they both devoted (the latter continues to devote) their unwearied energies to the discharge of their high functions; nor did the former scruple to risk the sacrifice of his popularity with the army he commanded, in obedience to a hard necessity which the supreme authority imposed upon him.

In the *champ de drap d'or* of Ferozpoor, Lord Auckland appeared with the imposing magnificence of an Indian potentate; and

though the uniforms of the vice-regal staff were eclipsed by the jewels and chain armour of the Sihk Sirdars, the Governor General, with his immense retinue and his escort of fifteen thousand men, was quite a match for the monarch of the Punjab. Besides the ceremonious interchange of visits, the principal objects of attraction appear to have been the splendid illuminations of the great mosque and city of Ferozpoor, and the military manœuvres of the troops of both nations, in which none made so superb a display as the body-guards of Runjeet. They were formed in a lane through which the Governor General and his court had to pass, one troop dressed in yellow satin, with gold scarfs and shawls, the other in cloth of gold, scarlet, purple, or yellow ; their arms all of

gold; they had long beards down to their waists; and their heads were enveloped in a drapery of silver or gold tissue, which was brought over their beards to protect them from the dust.

The friendly disposition of Runjeet to the English will be shewn by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Osborne, written during the Governor General's visit to the Maharajah, in December 1838.

Gov. Gen.'s Camp,
Lahore, 3rd January, 1839.

We leave this to-morrow on our return to our own countries. We took leave of Runjeet Sing yesterday. He has been very ill, but is better. It was thought at one time that he would have died; and though better, he cannot last much longer. We are going from here to Delhi, and expect to be at Simla about March. Our army of the Indus is progressing on its way to Affghanistan.

The sights and shows during our stay here were very splendid, but there were too many of them. Runjeet has entertained us most handsomely. No one in the camp is allowed to purchase a single thing, and a list is sent round once a week in which you put down what you require, and it is furnished at his expense. It costs him twenty-five thousand rupees a day; and as it will have been more than a month when we re-cross the Sutlege, it will have been an expensive business to him. Among other proofs of his friendship, he took us one evening to see his famous fort of Gorind Ghur at Umritsir; we expected merely to be allowed to look at it from the outside, as no European, and but very few of his principal chiefs have ever been allowed to enter it. But to our surprise, after going

round it, on reaching the last gate, he ordered it to be opened, and to the astonishment of all his own people, took us over the whole of it, and shewed us the building which contains his treasure chests, about twelve millions in gold. He gave me some magnificent presents when I came away; but I am allowed to keep nothing but the decoration of the military order of the "Runjeet Star of the Punjab," of which order he made me a knight, and invested me himself. It is a diamond and enamelled star, with his picture in the centre. He gave me also a suit of armour, sword, and matchlocks, bow and arrows, all inlaid with gold, but they are given up to the Company. Nothing could exceed his liberality and friendship during the whole of the Governor

General's visit. I will write again from Delhi. I fear I shall soon have to tell you of the old man's death.

The apprehensions excited by the altered appearance of the Maharajah were speedily justified by the event. The frightful excesses in which he had so long indulged had at length completely destroyed his constitution, and in the beginning of July, 1839, it became evident to all his court that his dissolution could not long be delayed. But so deep and sincere were the feelings of respect and attachment with which he was universally regarded, that to the last the most implicit obedience was paid to his commands, and (when he could no longer speak) to the signs by which his will was expressed. Early in

July, he ordered that his son, Kurruck Sing, should hold durbar, and decide cases, and the prime-minister, Dheean Sing, was directed, in conjunction with Kurruck, to regulate the affairs of the state. Upon the representation of Faqueer Uzeez-oodeen, (who seems of all his ministers to have had the greatest influence with Runjeet,) a title of "Vizarut" was granted to Dheean Sing, of which all the officers of the state were apprised—the title bestowed on him was, "the second person in the great dominions, the hearty well wisher of the great prosperity, the principal minister, the chief vizir, and the omnipotent manager, Rajah Dheean Sing Bahadoor."

On the night of the 20th July, the illness of the Maharajah increased, to the great dis-

tress of his ministers and immediate attendants. They all resolved, in consequence of his hopeless condition, that the heir apparent, Kurruck, should be proclaimed ruler, and Dheean Sing, vizir, on the following day; and accordingly the next morning, Kurruck Sing and Dheean Sing went to parade, took Nuzzurs from the officers and commandants of troops, and proclaimed that the Maharajah had raised Kurruck to the Guddhee, and named Dheean his vizir. On the 22nd, the Maharajah was attacked by a violent fever, but recovering a little in the afternoon, in the presence of his ministers, he signified his pleasure that Kurruck and Dheean should conduct the affairs of the state. On the 23rd, he was so much worse that he appeared to be breathing his last,

and he was laid upon the floor, which, according to the Hindoos and Sihks, is the proper place to die upon. He lingered, however, till the 27th, on which day he breathed his last, having sunk under a gradual decay of the system, exhibiting itself in total loss of the powers of speech and of motion in the lower limbs, but retaining his mental faculties unimpaired to the last. According to the arrangements he had made, his son Kurruck Sing succeeded quietly, and without the slightest opposition, to the throne.

Extract of a letter from the HON. W. OSBORNE, *with an account of the* FUNERAL OBSEQUIES *of* RUNJEET SING.

Simla, July 12th, 1839.

Runjeet Sing is dead, poor fellow! and died as like the old Lion as he had lived. He preserved his senses to the last, and was (which is unusual with native princes) obeyed to the last by all his chiefs, though he tried them high, as you will think, when I tell you that two hours before he died he sent for all his jewels, and gave the famous diamond, called the "Mountain of Light," said to be the largest in the world, to a Hindoo temple, his celebrated string of pearls to another, and his favourite fine

horses, with all their jewelled trappings, worth £300,000, to a third.

His four wives, all very handsome, burnt themselves with his body, as did five of his Cachmerian slave girls, one of whom, who was called the Lotus, or Lily, I often saw last year in my first visit to Lahore. Everything was done to prevent it, but in vain. They were guaranteed in their rank and in all their possessions, but they insisted upon it; and the account from the European officers who were present describes it as the most horrible sight. The four wives seated themselves on the pile with Runjeet Sing's head upon their laps; and his principal wife desired Kurruck Sing, Runjeet's son and heir, and Dheean Sing, the late prime minister, to come to her upon the pile, and

made the former take the Maharajah's dead hand in his own, and swear to protect and favour Dheean Sing as Runjeet Sing had done ; and she made the latter swear to bear the same true allegiance to the son which he had faithfully borne to his father. She then set fire to the pile with her own hands, and they are dead—nine living beings having perished together without a shriek or a groan. Dheean Sing threw himself twice on the pile, and said he could not survive his master, but was dragged away by main force. You have no idea what a sensation the poor old man's death has caused. All our treasure and supplies to the army of the Indus must go through the Punjab, and there are so many powerful and almost independent chiefs in the country, that the

risk will be great without Runjeet Sing's master-mind to rule them. Kurruck Sing is well intentioned and well inclined towards us, but wants the courage and energy of his father. I send you a letter from the poor old man, nearly the last he ever wrote, which as an original of the Lion of Lahore (a great man here) may be considered a curiosity.

W. O.

Letter from RUNJEET SING *to the* HONOURABLE WILLIAM OSBORNE.

NOTWITHSTANDING our established ties of a friendship formed during your residence at my court,—a friendship which was as apparent to the world as the sun at noon

day,—and my great anxiety to hear from you, you have never, for a long time, gratified me with a favourable account of your health; which has been a source of sorrow and surprise to me. I beg, however, that you will now furnish me with a full account of the fall of Candahar—a circumstance which has been highly satisfactory to all friends,—and with the welcome tidings of your good health; for the tree of friendship, unless encouraged by the husbandman of good will and affection, cannot flourish, but withers and dies like the cedar of the desert. Send to me for anything you may require from hence, and the fulfilment of your wishes will contribute to my satisfaction and to the increase of our friendship, which is to me a source of unceasing comfort, for

the friendship of an English gentleman is the envy of all our nation. You will, I trust, gratify me with occasional accounts of your health and happiness till the time I have the pleasure of meeting with you, which I trust will not be far distant.

Maharajah Runjeet Sing of Lahore

[To the Honourable W. Osborne

INDEX.

PAGE

ADEENA BEG overcomes Tymoor - - - - - 19
Adeenanuggur, the residence of Runjeet - - 60
Ahmed Khan made King of the Affghans - - 7
advances on Delhi - - - - - - - - 10
abandons the expedition - - - - - - 10
again crosses the Indus - - - - - - 17
defeats Meer Munoo - - - - - - - 17
reinstates Meer Munoo - - - - - - - 18
seizes the Punjab and Sirhind - - - 18
appoints his son Tymoor viceroy - - 18
routs the Mahrattas - - - - - 19, 20
routs the Sihks - - - - - - - - - 21
Affghans, Ahmed, King of the - - - - - 7
Akalees, an armed band of fanatics, 143, 146, 181, 182
Alard, General, his discipline of the cavalry, 162, 165
Amazons, Runjeet's corps of - - - - - 95, 197
Army, Runjeet's - - - - - - - - - - 104

PAGE

Artillery - - - - - - - - - - 109, 160, 164
Auckland, Lord, his appearance at Ferozpoor, 209, 213
Aurengzebe - - - - - - - - - - - - 3

Bentinck's, Lord William, meeting with Runjeet, 39
Bhurtpoor, proposal to Runjeet from the Rajah of, 119
Britain, Great, sends Mr. Metcalf to Runjeet - 28
sends Colonel Ochterlony - - - - - 29
treaty of, with Runjeet - - - - - - 29
confidence in, by Runjeet - - - - - 45
Burmese troops - - - - - - - - - - 105

Cashmere, conquest of, by Runjeet - - - - 28
Cavalry, Runjeet's - - - - - - - 162, 165
Churut Sing, ancestor of Runjeet - - - - 33
Cholera in Runjeet's camp - - - - - - - 121
Cups, vegetable - - - - - - - - - - 116

Dancing girls - - - - - - - - - 85, 86, 191
Departure from Lahore, preparations for - - 179
Dheean Sing, Rajah - - - - - - - 74, 221
Discipline of crack regiments - - - - - - 156
Dost Mohammed Khan - - - - - - - - 138
Dresses of honour, investiture of - - - - - 201
Drinking parties, Runjeet's - - - - - - 189

European officers, Runjeet's - - - - - - 151

PAGE

Faqueer, capacity of one to be buried alive - - 124
his interment and resuscitation - - - - 125
his appearance - - - - - - - - - 129
his former interment and resuscitation - - 130
vault built for his interment - - - - - 163
preparations for his interment - - - - 170
Forts resembling Martello towers - - - - - 51

Goorkha regiments - - - - - - - - - 107
Gooroo Govind, tenth and last successor of Nanac, 15
institutes the Gooroo Mata, or State
Council - - - - - - - - - 15
his excesses - - - - - - - - - 16
Governor General's meeting with Runjeet 39, 209, 213
Grunth, the sacred book of the Sihks - - - 14
Runjeet's consultation of the - - - - 122
Gun-shooting - - - - - - - - - - - 117

Heat, great - - - - - - - - - 121, 133, 139
Hebes, Runjeet's - - - - - - - - - 190
Heera Sing, Rajah - - - - - - - - 76, 199
Hogs, Sihk's way of catching wild - - - - 183
Horse, Runjeet's celebrated, Leîli - - - 90, 223

Jehangeer, mausoleum of - - - - - - - 188
Infantry, review of Runjeet's - - - - - - 102

PAGE

Koh-i-noor, the Mountain of Light, or great diamond - - - - - - - - - - 33
means used by Runjeet to procure it from Shah Sooja - - - - 33, 34, 35
its description and value - - - - - 202
bequeathed by Runjeet to a Hindoo temple - - - - - - - - - - 223
Kurruck Sing, Runjeet's son and heir, 32, 166, 193, 221

Lahore, review of troops at - - - - 154
Lotus, a dancing girl - - - - - - 86, 87, 226

Maha Sing, Runjeet's father - - - - - - 23
his success and reputation - - - - - 24
death - - - - - - - - - - 24
Mahrattas, their rule in India - - - - - - 19
beaten by Ahmed - - - - - - 19, 20
Mausoleum of Jehangeer - - - - - - - 188
Meer Munoo, viceroy of Lahore - - - - - 11
overcomes the Sihks - - - - - - 11
death - - - - - - - - - - 18
his widow assumes power - - - - - 18
Metcalf, Mr., sent on a mission to Runjeet - - 28
Misuls, associations of - - - - - - - 23, 31
Mogul Empire, foundation of - - - - - - 2
Mahomed Shah - - - - - - - - - - 3
restored by Nadir - - - - - - - 6

PAGE

Mooltan, Runjeet's enterprise against - - - 31
Mountain of Light, or Koh-i-noor, the great diamond - - - - - - - - - 33, 202, 222

Nadir Shah - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4
invades India - - - - - - - - - 4
advances to Delhi - - - - - - - - 4
returns from India with great treasures - 6
death of - - - - - - - - - - 7
Nanac Shah, founder of the Sihks - - - - 12
endeavours to reconcile Mahomedans and Hindoos - - - - - - - - 13
succeeded by Angad - - - - - 14
his other successors - - - - - - - 15

Ochterlony, Colonel, sent against Runjeet - - 29
invited to Kurruck's marriage - - - 32

Pearls, Runjeet's - - - - - - - - - - 203, 223
Pertaub Sing, son of Sher Sing - - 56, 57, 58, 60
Presents from Governor-General to Runjeet - 69
Punjab, future probable state of the - - - - 52

Quails at Runjeet's drinking parties - - - - 190
Quoits used by the Akalees - - - - - - 143

Review of Runjeet's troops - - - 102, 154, 184
Russian troops, Runjeet's inquiries respecting - 176

RUNJEET SING, Maharajah of Punjab: PAGE

first appearance of his ancestors - - - 21
Churut Sing, his ancestor - - - - 23
born - - - - - - - - - - - - 23
his father, Maha Sing - - - - - 23
succeeds his father - - - - - - - 25
obtains Lahore - - - - - - - - 26
seizes empire east of the Indus - - - 29
mission of Mr. Metcalf to - - - - - 29
conciliates friendship with Great Britain, 29
his treaty of peace and friendship with Great Britain - - - - - - - - 29
invites Col. Ochterlony to his son's marriage - - - - - - - - - 29
forms his troops on British model - - 30
deprives Shah Sooja of his famous diamond and other jewels - - - 33, 34, 35
his military operations - - - - - - 37
conquers Cashmere - - - - - - 38
his meeting with Lord Wm. Bentinck - 39
his character - - - - - - - 39 to 45
his confidence in Great Britain - - - 45
his jealousy of Europeans - - - - 56, 59
his residence (Adeenanuggur) - - - 60
presents of Governor-General to - - - 69
his hall of audience - - - - - - - 72
questions put by - 79, 93, 106, 114, 176, 195

RUNJEET SING—*continued.*

PAGE

his appearance - - - - - - - - 81, 82
his character - - - - - - - - - 83, 92
his love of money - - - - - - - - 84
his passion for horses - - - - - - 90
his reception of mission - - - - - 98
consults all medical men - - - - - 111
tries his medicine on his attendants - - 111
his morning rides - - - - - - - 113
his breakfasts - - - - - - - - 115
proposal from Rajah of Bhurtpoor to - 119
his consultation of the Grunth - - - 122
insulted and abused by the Akalees - - 146
his European officers - - - - - - 151
his avarice - - - - - - - - - 151
his drinking parties - - - - - - 189
his opinion of defeats - - - - - - 195
audience of leave - - - - - - - 204
meeting with Lord Auckland - - 209, 213
his imposing position - - - - - - 210
friendly disposition to the English - - 216
his illness - - - - - - - - - 219
his death - - - - - - - - - 222
his wives and dancing girls burnt with his body - - - - - - - - - 224
his letter to Hon. W. Osborne - - - 226
Shah Sooja - - - - - - - - - 207, 208

PAGE

Shalimar gardens - - - - - - - - - - 140
Sher Sing - - - - - - - - - - - - 64, 66
Shooting game - - - - - - - - 167, 182
Shah Sooja seeks refuge with Runjeet - - - 30
deprived by Runjeet of his famous diamond, the Mountain of Light, and other jewels - - - - - 32, 33, 34, 35
escapes from Runjeet - - - - - - 36
ascends the throne of Cabool - - - - 36
his appearance on restoration - - - 207, 208
Sihks, overcome by Meer Munoo - - - - - 11
their founder (Nanac) - - - - - - 12
infest the Punjab - - - - 11, 16, 21, 22
routed - - - - - - 16, 18, 20, 21, 22
Sihk army - - - - - - - - - - 157
Soocket Sing, or Malek Adhel - - - - - 62

Tymoor, Ahmed's son, viceroy of Lahore - - 18
overcome by Adeena Beg - - - - - 19
his sons deposed - - - - - - - - 27

Uzeezoodeen - - - - - - - - - - - 69

Ventura, General - - - - - - - - 87, 161

Wine banquets of Runjeet - - - - - - - 189
Whiskey preferred by Runjeet to wines - - - 191

Zemaun, Shah, invades the Punjab - - - - 30